CuP. 120 35

R/ Bom
954.79
Dac/Ori
15188

00015188

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 January, 2020

I DEDICATE

To my Wife and to my Children,

EMMELINE, OLIVIA, and GILBERT,

This Work,

WHICH HAS BEEN WRITTEN WHILE ALWAYS THINKING

OF THEM IN THEIR DISTANT SOJOURN IN

ITALY AND IN ENGLAND.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

EXTRA NUMBER.

The Origin of Bombay,

BY

J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., &c.

BOMBAY:
SOCIETY'S LIBRARY, TOWN HALL.

LONDON:—KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING CROSS
ROAD, W.C.

1900.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S STEAM PRESS, BY C

00015188

THE ORIGIN OF BOMBAY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

COINS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND MAPS.

BY

J. GERSON DA CUNHA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

"Bombay est bâti à l'extrémité sud-est de la petite île de même nom . . . . Sa rade, une des plus belles et des plus sûres de l'Inde . . . . l'aspect en est fort pittoresque, et il est peu de ports qu' on puisse lui comparer. A l'arrière-plan, les montagnes du continent avec leurs sommets découpés se détachent sur l' azur du ciel, tandis qu' à leurs pieds les collines et les îles, chargées durant les moussons d'une verdure luxuriante, forment un tableaux des plus ravissants."—M. ALFRED GRANDIDIER, *Le Tour du Monde*, Vol. XX., p. 122.

This quotation, from a modern French traveller, gives a very concise, but accurate, description of the aspect of Bombay. There is a great deal besides the panorama, however, in the topography and history of the island, which is very interesting. Not only the residents, but even those who have not had the advantage, or felt the distress, as the case may be, of living in this hot and moist but in some respects charming city, may like to know it.

As an introduction to the subject, it may be worth while to explain the *raison d'être* of these fragmentary notes, which, without any overweening sense of their merit, have been put together under the somewhat exotic designation of *The Origin of Bombay*. I say advisedly exotic designation, because it is an adaptation from the domain of natural history and biology to a descriptive account of the foundation and political history of a city. And as these researches in the ancient history of Bombay can be traced to more than one source, I would have, indeed, preferred, had not the expression been unfamiliar to the English idiom, to name them, after the manner of the Latin and cognate languages, *The Origins of Bombay*.

Twenty-five years ago, when Bombay had begun to emerge from its mediæval stage, I began to collect, with the enthusiasm and vivacity of youth, documents, legends, and traditions relative to its past and that of its neighbourhood. The singular position of this city between the extremes, which always touch, of barbarism and civilisation, must strike one—as it struck me on my first visit to Bombay in May 1860, when it was still surrounded by walls and moats, with gates and suspension-bridges—as a place worthy of a laborious and conscientious study.

"Bombay," as I said in the Preface to my work on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein, "like, probably, no capital city in the world, presents to the scholar the contradictory aspect of being at the same time surrounded by seats of very ancient civilisations—Buddhist, Sivaite, Mahomedan, and Portuguese—and wild country inhabited by people as savage as the race living in the deep recesses of the Sâtpûrâs."

As the collection of these disjointed local historical memoranda increased, I commenced to publish them under the heading of "Words and Places in and about Bombay," in the *Indian Antiquary*, in 1874. The work on the neighbouring cities of Chaul and Bassein followed, and the natural desire to hunt up the relics of antiquity amongst the ruins of those two 'cities of the dead,' brought to light some rare coins. They had the fascinating power of drawing me off from the limited field of archæology to that large sphere, where, according to A. de Barthélemy, "La numismatique . . . . nous a laissé le plus de connaissances et de détails sur les religions anciennes, sur la géographie et sur l'histoire de contrées dont la tradition écrite n'a guere fait connaître que les noms."

It is said that this century is, before all things, the century of history. Arts and literatures, religions and philosophies, are chiefly interesting as successive manifestations of the scheme of human evolution. Each coin being a contemporary monument of the event to which it alludes, its study eventually resulted in the publication of my "Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics," in which reference was also made to Bombay.

Papers based on these desultory notes were occasionally published in the Journals of various local learned Societies, such as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic, the Medical and Physical, and the Anthropological, as well as in the Municipal Blue-book on the Census of 1881, as witnesses to the continuity of the historical life of this

city. References to the history of Bombay were also made in my memoir, read at the International Congress of Orientalists of Florence in 1878, and published in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*.

These personal explanations may, perhaps, to one unacquainted with facts savour of egotism. But as it is a general complaint that India has not yet had an historian to deal comprehensively with her wonderful career, and that she is equally deficient in point of biography, which really constitutes the base of history, I do not know that an apology is needed for entering into the biographical details of the origin of these notes before I enter into *the Origin of Bombay*.

Good oftentimes arises out of evil. The accumulation of all these chaotic materials would most probably have for ever remained unedited, had not the late calamity which has visited Bombay for some months, and well-nigh depopulated the city, recalled their nearly forgotten existence. This misfortune of the plague, which will in the end, I hope, prove an essential blessing in disguise, has now nearly ceased, although some time may yet elapse before complete tranquillity is restored to the disturbed public conscience, notwithstanding the proverbially short memory of the people in general—

Nam neque nos agere hoc patriæ tempore iniquo
Possumus æquo animo.

To seek inspiration amidst the ravages and anxieties of the time of terror, of panic and the loosening of the moral fibre of this cosmopolitan population; to learn lessons from the caprices of fortune; to draw inferences from the experiences of the past; or to cast, as it were, the horoscope of Bombay, I unsealed these old papers as if unlocking some sybilline books, laid aside a quarter of a century before. They came to confirm the opinion I had once ventured to express in a paper only four years since, while commenting on the diary of the French missionary, the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen, who was in Bombay in 1827, just seventy years ago.

"The great events," I then said, "that have materially contributed to the making of modern Bombay, are the Treaty of Bassein, which destroyed the Marátha confederacy, the annexation of the Dekkan, and the opening of the Suez Canal, which helped considerably to raise this city to the proud position of the gateway of India. On the ruins of the Peishwa's dominion, just a decade before the arrival of the

French missionary here, was thus rising the edifice of a snug little island on the Konkan Coast, destined to rule over a great part of a vast Continent. Since then it has passed through various critical phases of growth and development, through years of joy and of sorrow, periods of unnatural inflation alternating with those of apparently hopeless depression, but, in spite of all this, Bombay, like Paris, *fluctuat nec mergitur.*" And, like Paris, Bombay has grown, due allowance being made for the boldness of the comparison, slowly at first, but rapidly during the last quarter of this century. From Charlamagne to Napoleon, Paris took nearly ten centuries to become a populous city, and Bombay, from Humphrey Cooke to Jonathan Duncan, has spent about one hundred and fifty years to develop from a mere hamlet into a fair town. In 1811 Paris contained 600,000 inhabitants. From that time to 1846 the population increased by the yearly addition of 11,000 heads, the number of houses increasing in proportion to shelter one million of souls. From 1869 to 1895, 41,000 new houses were built, and the population had grown to 2,500,000. The Parisian statistics do not furnish figures anterior to the last years of the Empire; but for the last twenty-five years the city has been enriched by the annual immigration of 25,000 souls. The density of the population, which, during the first Republic, was represented by 55 *mètres carrés* per head, is now 33. This density is, moreover, enhanced by the piling of floors, families *grimpant sur les épaules des occupants primitives.*

Thus Bombay resembles Paris, as some other cities, in the rapidity of its expansion within the last quarter of a century. In 1814 the population of Bombay was about 200,000, and the tenements 20,000. Now the population has quadrupled, and the number of buildings has nearly doubled. While in 1814 most of the houses consisted of ground floors, and a few of two floors, there are now hundreds, if not thousands, of buildings, of more than five floors. The density of the population has in the meantime become enormous. The minimum of house population by sections is now higher in Bombay than the maximum in London. In France, even, including the urban population, there are only 187 persons to the square mile, and in England, also including the large towns, a little over 500. There is more concentration and pressure of the populace in Bombay than in Calcutta. Like the Adriatic tribes who took refuge in the city of the Lagoons, all tribes in Western India flock to Bombay, and from traditional beliefs, social instincts and tribal affinities are

drawn to certain areas in the town, where their tendency is to agglomerate rather than to disperse. Within the memory of many of us fields which were once open and cultivated have now been built over with houses of all shapes and sizes.

Another feature common to both Paris and Bombay is the prestige and the influence, which each of them exercises over all the country, far beyond the limits of their own administrative spheres. Bombay draws, as the metropolis, the best talent from provinces and districts around, and dictates laws and fashions to India as Paris does to France.

It is said that Bombay is the Alexandria of India. Its geographical position and commercial relations bear evidently some resemblance to the great eastern *entrepôt* of the Mediterranean. As the swampy Rhakotis, a mere fishing village, which Alexander the Great transformed into the splendid city of Alexandria, the desolate islet of the Bombay Kôli fishermen was changed into the present capital of Western India. Like Alexandria, it is, moreover, on the highway to other cities. As the visitor hurries from steamer to rail on the way to the pyramids and to Luxor, the Indian tourist rushes from the Ballard Pier to the Victoria Station on the way to the Táj Mahál, Delhi, and Benares. But in all other respects Bombay is the Paris of India. It is true it does not possess the beautiful, and, according to Lebrun, the honest, smiling river—

La *Seine* aux bords riants, nymphe tranquille et pure,
Porte son doux cristal, ennemi du parjure,
A l'immense Thétis;

but it has instead one of the most splendid harbours in the world, about which the old Portuguese Viceroy, Antonio de Mello e Castro, wrote to the King of Portugal, D. Affonso VI, in 1662: "Moreover, I see the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared, treated as of little value by the Portuguese themselves."

The history of the two cities has hitherto proved that they are both endowed with powers of recuperation to meet the effects of disaster. But while Paris possesses the vitality of a virile constitution, seasoned and braced up by the lapse of some centuries, to guarantee its future, Bombay is yet too young to justify any dogmatic prognostications of continued prosperity.

History, like drama, delights in contrasts and coincidences. But if the historical parallels of the past were logical arguments in relation

to the changed conditions of to-day, the tragic fate of nearly all the cities in Western India, whose existence could hardly be counted by the cycle of three centuries, would lead us, indeed, to very gloomy forebodings.

Ahmedabad, with its houses of brick and mortar and tiled roofs, the broad streets, the chief of them with room enough for ten ox-carriages to drive abreast, and a thousand stone mosques among its public buildings, each with two large minarets and many wonderful inscriptions, rich in painters, carvers, weavers, and embroiderers; Bijápur, with its Ark-Killah, the Sát Mazli, the mehels, mosques, tombs and palaces, its goldsmiths and jewellers; the emporium of Surat, "a city of a very great trade," as Barbosa describes it in the beginning of the 16th century, "in all classes of merchandise"; Goa, the Rome of the East, built on seven hills, with its magnificent cathedral, its churches and convents, three fine hospitals, the dungeons of the Inquisition as famous as those of the ducal palace at St. Mark's Square, in Venice, rich in mansions and in the produce of every part of the globe, a grand arsenal, a naval depôt conveniently located, the sheltered stronghold of the Portuguese squadrons, where they returned to refit and rest in absolute security until some renewed need of action called again for their services—all these can now write upon their portals "the glory is departed," while many others, such as Bassein, Chaul, Golconda, Ahmednagar, Gulburga, &c., are now little more than mere heaps of ruins.

I will not claim to possess the prophetic instinct to foresee what is in store for Bombay. But as it has adopted the happy motto of *Urbs prima in Indis*, it may be hoped that this will prove of good augury, and that among other privileges Bombay will own that of priority among the Indian cities for longevity in undecaying prosperity.

Since these notes were written, many new works, both official and unofficial, on Bombay, relating especially to the early British period, have been published. Still there is a good deal to be learnt. One may, indeed, say of Bombay, in the words of La Fontaine: "That is a field which cannot be so harvested that there will not be something left for the latest comer to glean."

I have divided these notes into four periods—the Hindu, the Mahomedan, the Portuguese, and the British.

CHAPTER II.

THE HINDU PERIOD.

The Hindu period is lost in the mist of ages. Its history is partly legendary and partly authentic. The legends, connected with the god Siva and his consort, as well as with the other idols which have been established on the island from time immemorial, both in and about Bombay, are voluminous, but the authentic documents are very scarce. Reserving the legends to be treated of in connection with the description of the Hindu temples further on, I shall begin here with a numismatic document. Its authenticity cannot be impugned, but its existence does not unhappily prove more than what Ovid implied in his well-known adage, *Factum abiit—monumenta manent.*

It may be worth while to quote here, to preserve in chronological order the course of events in connection with this coin, an extract from a letter of the 16th July, 1881: " . . . . I send you the coin found in Cavel about 2 months ago. It was about April that it was discovered, while Municipal workpeople were digging for our drainage system. The hole was about six feet deep . . . . EDULJEE RUSTOMJEE REPORTER."

On inspecting the place where the coin was found, it was ascertained that the hole was just on the verge of a compound-wall* from the Cavel lane to the west of the Kalkadevi Road, as it branches off into Mumbadevi and the Dadiset Street. The coins recovered from the hoard, probably a large one, were only three. As the Vâniâ landlord protested against the search being carried on within his enclosure, the attempt was given up. The two remaining coins were appropriated by the Municipality and exhibited at the meeting of the local Asiatic Society held on the 15th July, 1881.

Cavel is the name of a village, which once covered the whole of the land now divided by the Kalkadevi Road into Cavel proper and old Hanuman Lane. This ancient village was formerly occupied almost exclusively by the aboriginal tribe of the Kôlis, who were converted by the Portuguese, and attached to the Parish Church on the Esplanade with the adjoining cemetery, which exist no more. In 1860, when I first visited Cavel, which seems to be a Portuguese rendering of Kolwar, 'a Kôli hamlet,' it was the centre of the largest

* Compound is a Malay word, *kompung*, for village. It has been used for an enclosure containing a house, out-buildings, &c.

Roman Catholic community on the island, to which immigrants from Bassein, Sálsette, Damán and Goa made continual yearly additions. They supplied Bombay with clerks and domestic servants, and instead of one Church on the Esplanade there were two—one in the midst of Cavel, and the other at Boleśvár; the former of the invocation of Nossa Senhora de Saude (Our Lady of Health), and the latter of Nossa Senhora d'Esperança (Our Lady of Hope). Again, the former belonged to the mission of the *Padroado*, and the latter to that of the *Propaganda Fide*, while their cemeteries were at the New Sonapur Lane, now changed into a Chapel, and at Dabul or the Burrows' Lane, now closed, respectively. The new cemetery of the Cavel Church is now at Dáráví, while that of the Boleśvár Church is at Sewrí.

The historical associations connected with this primitive village in the centre of the island suggest some ideas of a dramatic character. It is a rich field for anthropological studies, to one aspect of which I have already drawn attention in one of my contributions to the Anthropological Society of Bombay. See *Criminal Anthropology with reference to the Population of Bombay in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., pp.* 354 *et seq.*

Cavel, once the seat of the Christian converts of the Portuguese, has long been invaded, and, now almost entirely, occupied, through the sheer force of wealth, by the Vâniâs, who have replaced the old modest but airy villas, with their crosses and gay little gardens, by their huge shapeless tenements, without light and air, the hot-beds of future epidemic outbreaks.

The Kôlis and their Roman Catholic compeers, who are in reality the oldest rural gentry of Bombay, have thus been supplanted by a new race, perhaps of a stronger physical organisation and more energetic temperament, acquired through their actual higher heredity and better environment, but not any happier for that. It is a fact worth reflecting over that not a single family of some eminence in the beginning of this century has left a descendant to represent it honourably at the present time. In other words, the history of Bombay tends to show that the prosperity of a family seldom outlives the limited space of three generations.

This lack of social vitality is perhaps due to the fact of the Bombay society being quite alien to the local interests, which are supposed to generally promote prosperous longevity, except those derived from a temporary sojourn. At the least appearance of danger, the Bombay citizen seeks safety in flight to his native village or elsewhere,

leaving behind the residue of the population, which is bound by duty or by hard necessity to bear the exposure to all perils, as proved by the recent epidemic of the plague.

The claim of long descent can only be made by the Kôli aristocrat, who has not forgotten his ancestral rights; carrying round the neck as an insignia of his tribe a curious iron knife, manufactured by himself, the emblem of his autochthonous power, which symbolises both his patrician descent and his ancient sway over the island,—and by his Roman Catholic compeer, who has ascended by clerical education in the scale of bureaucratic *régime* from the Portuguese to the early British period. The rest of the inhabitants, whose only patent of nobility, besides lofty pretensions, is money, can hardly count their historic genealogy beyond three generations.

A curse, more severe in form than that of Byron, "like cloud, it passes," seems to pursue the speculations of the Bombay trader and merchant. He has apparently that exalted feeling, so beautifully expressed in the well-known Dantesque phrase, *La carità del natio loco*, inspired by his Mantuan guide, who said, "The noblest motive is the public good"; but he does not yet know the truth embodied in the saying of a French writer—"Material greatness is dust, while moral greatness is eternal." Greed, which with all the sordidness around, is the dominant passion of the century, and which is more evident now, at this *fin du siècle*, than before, and the absolute want of high ideals of life and of character, have a great deal to answer for this state of precariousness in the life of the Bombay family. For character, besides its higher purpose, has that of improving heredity and of prolonging physical existence amidst comforts. The secret of uninterrupted prosperity, then, lies doubtless in acting in the spirit of the saying, "*Aliis in serviendo consumor.*"

About a year after the Cavel find, I received the following note:—"Two coins for your inspection, said to be of the 4th or 5th century, found by a servant of mine in my farm at Mulgaum, near Marole, in Sálsette.—J. J. DE ALMEIDA." This was in June 1882. It is, indeed, encouraging to see people in Sálsette know the age of the coins, due evidently to the interest the public takes in our numismatic debates in the Town Hall.

These coins were picked from a hoard of about 200 specimens found in a clay pot. Similar coins discovered in Damán about this time passed into the hands of the Marwari coin-dealers, who either sold or melted them down, as is their immemorial custom. From

the discovery of a few coins underground it is not to be supposed that the territory where they were found belonged to the king, whose effigy or name they bore. But the circumstance of two such hoards belonging to the same king being found in close local proximity is suggestive of their having once been the currency of Bombay and the adjoining country.

Dr. Bhaú Dáji was the first to describe some coins of this series, found at Devaláná in Násik, in 1870. He read the legend thus:—"Rája Parama Máheśvara Mánasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyána Śrikasa," and translated it thus:—"King, the great dēvotee of Máheśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God."

This decipherment was tentative and provisional on account of the absence of diacritical marks or vowels; but on palæographic grounds and the testimony of the fabric of the coinage itself, which resembles that of the Guptas,—exhibiting a degree of deterioration of art analogous to that of the latter in comparison with the less defective workmanship of the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, whose type with slight modifications they copied,—Dr. B. Dáji assigned the coin to an unknown king of the Dekkan, who reigned about the end of the 4th century of our era.

This assignment was corroborated by Sir A. Cunningham, who further indentified the prince, whose bust and inscription it bore, from examining specimens found in Rájputána in 1879, with Kṛishṇa Rája, of the house of the Rástrakuṭas, whose capital was Mánkhed, in the Dekkan. His reading was as follows:—

"Parama Mahesvára, Mahâdytia pâdânudhyâta, Srî Krishna Rája": "The Supreme King, the worshipper of Mahâdytia (Siva), the fortunate Krishna Rája."

The General in attributing this coin to Kṛishṇa Rája of the Rashtrakuta dynasty adduced confirmatory evidence from ancient inscribed copper-plates in support of the theory of Dr. B. Dáji, of this prince having flourished about the end of the 4th century, and specified the period as from 375 to 400 A. D.

Six years later Dr. Fleet attempted a new reading of the marginal legend thus:—"Paramamahaśvara Matapatripadanudhyataśra Krishnaraja," representing, when duly supplied with the omitted vowels, "Paramamâhêśvara Mâtâpitripâdânudhyâtaśrî Krishnarâja." 'The glorious Kṛishṇarája, who is devout worshipper of (the god) Mahêśvara (and) who meditates on the feet of his parents.' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xiv., p. 68). Of the three readings, the last is probably the most

correct. The full description of the coin, then, which is of silver, weighing troy grains 33, and of size ·6, is as follows:—

Obv.—Rude head of king with moustaches to right. No trace of legend or date.

Rev.—The figure of a pretty well executed *Nándi*, in a squatting posture, or bull recumbent to right. The marginal legend in modified Gupta characters commencing above the bull's hump, as above.

This *Nándi* or sacred bull was the ensign or crest of the king. It took the place of a peacock with outstretched wings on the reverse area of the Kumára Gupta coins, or such wings with expanded tail on those of his son, Skanda Gupta. The device of a bull is, moreover, the representative of Siva, as that of a boar is the representative of Vishnu. It seems, therefore, that Siva was the family-god of Krishnarája, as Vishnu was the family-god of the Chálukyas, whose coins and seals of grants bear the device of a boar.

But who was Krishnarája Rásh*t*rakúta? It is in reality rather hard to say. "The book of the past," says a German writer, "is, on the whole, a closed book; the greatest historians have only succeeded in turning one or two of its pages." If this is true of any epoch or country, it is much more so of India. Its history is a closed book, and its pages can be easily compressed within a very narrow compass. All the materials that constitute documentary evidence are scanty and extremely concise. Some copper-plates, a few coins and the estampage from old rock and stone-slabs epigraphy make up the whole of the official records of both the ancient and mediæval India. A subsidiary aid may, perhaps, be derived from some magnificent architectural remains scattered throughout the Indian continent and its islands; but neglect and vandalism have considerably impaired their value.

Nor is there much to learn about it from the Mahomedan historians. If "History is philosophy teaching by examples," there is hardly a genuine historian among the sectaries of Islam in its ruthless career of insolence in this country. Their chroniclers, with their usual ignorance and prejudice gloat, amidst puerile and monotonous stories of conspiracies, intrigues, and murders, over the burning horrors reserved for their antagonists. Whether they merely represent the spirit of the age or their Koranic precepts cherish the germs of intolerance, this is not the place to discuss. To delineate a character or relate an anecdote is more important according to them than accurate and detailed inquiries into facts. Their historians have forgotten that the Greek word to which they owe the name does not mean

to tell but to inquire. Even Ferishta, who is, by common consent, superior to them all, is not entirely free from these defects. His account, for instance, of the famous episode of the so-called Abdoola, Portuguese Mealecan (Mir Ali Khán), his flight, exile and attempt to ascend the throne of Yúsuf Ali Sháh, with the help of the Portuguese and of that Richelieu of Bijápúr, Asad Khán, Duke of Belgaum or *Condestabre*, as Joaõ de Barros calls him, is in flagrant contradiction with the contemporary authentic records preserved in the State archives in Goa. These official documents signed by the pretender himself and his sons, have lately been published and throw a flood of light on those dark transactions. The true history of India, however, begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in India. Castanheda, Gaspar Correa, Joaõ de Barros, Diogo do Couto, Antonio Bocarro and a few others, most of whom, with the exception of Joaõ de Barros, spent many years of their active life in those troublous times in India, are the best historians India ever had up to the end of the sixteenth century. From that time history has emerged from the stage of mere personal narratives and anecdotal tales. In showing their sympathy with virtue and abhorrence of vice, unlike their irreconcileable enemies, the Moors, they for the first time in India set an example worthy of being imitated by those to whom Sir H. Elliott applies the Ciceronian remark of "Non exornatores rerum, sed tantum—modo narratores fuerunt."

But to return to Krishṇarája Râshṭrakuṭa. In that excellent repository of historical lore of Western India, the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, admirably edited by my friend Sir James M. Campbell, mention is made both of the origin and other incidents of the Râshṭrakuṭas, their branches and their capitals. Dr. Bhandarkar tells us they were once named "Raṭṭas, who gave their name to the country of Mâhârashṭra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya." Dr. Fleet believes Raṭṭa to be an abbreviation of Râshṭrakuṭas, whose origin was possibly Aryan; but Dr. Burnell looks on them, on the other hand, as of Dravidian origin, Raṭṭa being equivalent to the Kanarese and Telugu *raḍḍi* or *reḍḍi*, denoting the caste of aboriginal Telugu farmers, meaning the headman of a village. In short, Râshṭrakuṭa is said to be a title to designate the headman of a *rashṭra* or province, just as *Gramakuta* designates the headman of a village. Their capital is said to have been Mânyakhêṭa,—*kheṭa* being simply a small town, which they eventually changed into Mânapura, *pura* being a large town, in order to magnify it—which has been

identified with the modern Malkhêd or Mânkhed in the Nizam's dominions, and with the Maukir of the Arab travellers of the tenth century of our era, who designated them Balhâras, from Vallabha, a title assumed by them from their predecessors the Châlukyas. Elsewhere Mânapura, the seat of another branch of the Râshṭrakutas, is identified with Mânpur in Malva. Then, again, the Râshṭrakutas are said to have been feudatory or hereditary governors of provinces, who, when they rose to sovereign power, preserved their official title as a dynastic or family name.

Was Krishṇarâja, who issued the Cavel coin, really a Râshṭrakuṭa, as General Cunningham believed? The latest researches assign the coin probably to another Krishṇarâja, of the Kalachuri dynasty, whose capital was Tripura or Tevur, near Jabalpur. In the early centuries of our era he reigned over Gujarât and adjacent provinces, including the Northern Konkan or Bombay, having also their own branches, like most of the other early Indian monarchies. Dr. Fleet writes:—"The existence, in the direction of Gujarât, of an early king named Krishṇarâja, who may be allotted to this period, just as well as to a somewhat earlier date, has also been established by certain coins from Dêvalâna in the Nâsik district; and though the tendency has been to refer these coins to an early Râshṭrakuṭa king . . . . still there is nothing to connect them with the Râshṭrakuṭa or any particular dynasty . . . . " *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Part II., pp. 295-296. Elsewhere he says:—"As regards the coins, there is nothing that compels us to allot them to any dynasty in particular; and they are probably Kalachuri coins of Krishṇarâja, the father of Saṁkaragaṇa." Ibid. p. 385. After all, it matters little. The Roman poet had indeed a good reason to say—*Factum abiit—monumenta manent.*

We do not know, then, yet with certainty which Krishṇarâja it is, whether Râshṭrakuṭa or Kalachuri. But the type of this coin connects Bombay in an unbroken series with Greece, in a manner, besides, that may at first appear paradoxical, but it is, nevertheless, a numismatic fact of great historical value.

While to wend one's way safely through this labyrinth of the copper-plate grants and rock-epigraphs, one requires the Ariadne's clue of thread, the coins, on the contrary, speak plainly. Those who, like the great Eckhel, know how to interpret their silent language—"Tamen quanta fuerit has per terras, populosque artis pictoriæ perfectio, superstites eorum numi palam eloquuntur"—require no other aid.

Some apology is, however, due for my lingering at such a length on a topic that may seem apparently insignificant to many readers. The circumstance of this coin being the sole survival of the traditions of the past, which has lain hidden for fifteen centuries underground, enabling me now to recreate, as it were, a new page in the annals of Bombay, and the fact that it was wiped out even from tradition renders this somewhat tedious tarrying an absolute necessity, for which I crave the reader's indulgence.

A historian has often to be a philosopher. It is his business, as Buckle says, to trace the tendencies of thought and feeling which lead to political changes, and which in mere annals are kept from view by the gloomy record of wars and of armies, of individual caprices and of sporadic revivals of fanaticism. And it is by the careful study of such documents as these that one can arrive at the truth. In describing events the historian has to trace the operation of general causes without neglecting to inquire into the origin of each particular fact. Like organic beings, coins have their lineage and their morphology. In investigating, for example, the ancestry of this coin of Kṛishṇarája and its morphology,—or the history of those changes in form and in type which have resulted both from definite historical events and from influences which are always present, affecting in a greater or less degree the evolution of coins,—what a fascinating field of speculation is opened. Those influences are, moreover, the result of forces common to human nature. Though analogous to those which produce the variation in form in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, they are proclaiming the unity of the Universe and the solidarity of mankind, through its chequered existence and laboured progress in the world, amidst the alternations of fear and hope, of aspiration and despondency.

The *dramma*, for such is the name of the coin, of Kṛishṇarája is a lineal descendant of the silver coin of the Guptas, who on their part copied from the silver money of the Western Kshatrapas in weight and fabric, and the king's head on the obverse. On the reverse, however, a peacock, of the two different types I have already mentioned above, from the time of Chandra Gupta II. Vikramáditya, was substituted. The Kshatrapa reverse was a pyramid in the form of three arches having beneath it a wavy line, which, for want of a better name, has been commonly called *chaitya*. This symbol must have some signification, as in the widest range of human observations there is nothing meaningless. It remained a constant

type of the Kshatrapa coinage from the time of Chashṭana, the Tiastanes of Ptolemy, whose capital was Ujain, his date being now accepted as beginning with the Saka era in A. D. 79, till the dynasty succumbed to the Guptas at the end of the 4th century of the Christian era. It seems that the pyramid of three arches or *chaitya* is the Girnár, the holy mountain, the wavy line representing the waters of the Sudarśana, the ancient sacred lake near Girnár. And there is a precedent for such a suggestion. Herodotus tells us that in the Egyptian coins of about 500 B. C., supposed to be those of the Persian Satrap Aryandes, a zigzag or wavy line was used as an emblem for water. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, III., 145, note 6. The silver coins of the Kshatrapas are, on the other hand, evident copies of the Greek hemidrachms. We know from the Periplus, that the coins of Menander and Apollodotus were current at Barygaza, modern Broach, as late as the latter end of the first century of our era. They were, in fact, copies of the Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

The pedigree of the Kṛishṇarája coin has hereto been traced, after passing through the Gupta and Kshatrapa phases of evolution, to the first century of the Christian era. The morphological features of the dynastic symbol on the reverse had in the meantime undergone, according to the causes of variation, which are religious, artistic, and historical, considerable alteration in physiognomy. Were not prolixity a literary sin, and if space allowed it, innumerable examples might have been cited in further illustration of the subject.

Thus there is a law of heredity in coins. In the early stage of its functional development, as a medium of exchange, the two essential elements of circulation of a coin are weight and metal, such as ingots and implements. Shape and mark impressed upon it constitute a later and more advanced degree of progress. These undergo, in course of time, changes which are observable in the evolution of the species.

Each issue must inherit from the issue which preceded it; or, in other words, by the law of descent the shape and type of a coin are determined by the form of the preceding species, and it is not in the power of man to revolutionize a coinage. Besides, the fainter the traces of descent, the more advanced is the stage of civilisation, each variation being due to some more or less violent change in the governing power. Absolute stagnation in coin-types means, as in other things, senile degeneration. It is apparent then that a barbarous people is the least prone to advance. By that characteristic inertia or misoneism, as Prof. Lombroso calls it, which is inherent in human

nature, they eschew all initiative with a tendency to modify their confirmed habits. As motion is life, and stillness leads to dissolution, a type that does not progress deteriorates, or where evolution ceases devolution begins. This branch of human psychology finds many apt illustrations in the department of numismatics, perhaps as rich as those in the world-wide field of natural selection.

Then as coinages are related, and there are connecting links at each point of transition, the coinage of Krishnarája, as illustrated by the Cavel specimen, may be traced up to the Greek source. The changes of dynasties hardly affect the morphology of coins—a fact suggestive of what is taking place throughout the world, that conquests and changes of dynasties have no effect upon the domestic conditions of the people.

The type of the *nándí* or recumbent bull, on the reverse of the Cavel coin, was a morphological change from the Gupta peacock with outspread wings, or the same bird with extended wings and expanded tail, as said before. The latter was a variation from the Buddhist *chaitya* of the Western Kshatrapas, for which a prototype may perhaps be found among the prehistoric Buddhist coins of Northern India.

This family of the great Satraps was probably of a Parthian origin, as its title indicates. It is a term quite foreign to Sanskrit terminology, and its Sanskritised form is derived from the Old-Persian *Khshatrapa*. These Satraps held sway over a large territory, comprising Aparânta or Northern Konkan, from the last quarter of the first to the end of the fourth century A. D.

About the middle of the second century this part of their dominion was overrun and captured by Gotamíputra Śatakarṇi, king of the Dekkan, whose coin, struck after the Kshatrapa pattern, was found a few years ago in the Supára *stúpa*. Rudradáman, however, retook it some time after, and thus Bombay and the adjoining country, ruled over for a short period by Śatakarṇi, reverted to their former owners, the Kshatrapas.

This coin comes again in support of the view I have enforced above of the law of descent in the domain of numismatics. But there is after all nothing novel in it; for this topic must be familiar to all numismatists, and it is but a new application of old principles.

Any violent change in the monetary system of the locality would have been repulsive to the people, and Śatakarṇi had the good sense

to copy the model already current in the country. Another example of a more recent date, in preserving the identity of the metal, was the discovery of the tutenag coins of Sháh Jahán in the same village of Supára, in imitation of the Portugnese currency of that amalgam in their neighbouring settlement of Bassein. In no other part of the once vast Moghal Empire has any coin in tutenag been found.

The Satraps of Western India copied the coin types of the Indo-Bactrians, as proved by the position of the figure, the existence of the bilingual inscription, and by the absence of the Parthian bow found on the Arsacidan coins. In the reign of Antiochus II., about 256 B. C., the provinces of Bactria and Parthia revolted against the Seleucide rule, the former under Diodotus, and the latter under Arsaces. The types of the Indo-Bactrian coins can be traced up in a direct line to the Seleucide dynasty. The Arsacides also imitated the types of the Syrian kings, forming a collateral branch from the parental stock of Seleucus I. The type adopted by Arsaces, however, was Apollo seated on the delphic omphalos, holding in his outstretched hand a bow, while Diodotus imitated that of Heracles seated on rocks, holding in his right hand a club, the originals of both these types occurring on pieces struck by the great prince Antiochus.

From the Greek sovereigns of Syria, who, on the death of Alexander the Great, founded in 312 B. C. an extensive Empire in the East, even to the confines of India, it is easy to trace their coins to those of the Macedonian hero, and from the latter to the Attic standard, established by Solon about 550 B. C. In the Solonian metrology and nomenclature of coins one meets the classical *drachma*, which is the parent of the Sanskritised form of *dramma* and *dram*, and the Prakrit *damma*, found in inscriptions cut in the live-rock and on copper-plates. The *dramma* of Krishnarája, although a hemi-drachm in weight, like similar coins of his predecessors, the Guptas and Kshatrapas, derives its descent from the early Greek coinage, and the Bombay of Krishnaraja is thus connected, numismatically at least, with the Athens of Solon, although the period that intervened between the Indian king and the Greek law-giver is less by a third than the one distancing us of the nineteenth century from the king of this island, Krishnarája,—the worshipper of Máheśvara, who meditated on the feet of his parents. This admirable royal example of filial piety has not happily been lost on his successors and their faithful subjects; for parental love and duty towards elders are indeed highly characteristic of the Indians of all

classes, and is early inculcated in their minds. (*See* Plate I., and the descriptive account further on.)

Having thus far considered the debt we in Bombay owe to Greece for the type and form of our early coinage, let us now inquire if India is indebted to that great country for any of the other splendid manifestations of its genius.

Sir Henry Maine writes:—"Except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin." Again, Ernest Renan, in that most charming of his works, *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, says:—"Je savais bien, avant mon voyage, que la Grèce avait créé la science, l'art, la philosophie, la civilisation; mais l'échelle me manquait. Quand je vis l'Acropole, je eus la révélation du divin, comme je l'avais eue la première fois que je sentis vivre l'Evangile, en apercevant la valleé du Jourdain des hauteurs de Casyoun. Le monde entier alors me parut barbare. L'Orient me choqua par la pompe, son ostentation, ses impostures. Les Romains ne furent que de grossiers soldats; la majesté du plus beau Romain, d'un Auguste, d'un Trojan, ne me sembla que pose auprès de l'aisance, de la noblesse simple de ces citizens fiers et tranquilles. Celtes, Germains, Slaves m'apparurent comme des espèces de Scythes consciencieux, mais péniblement civilisés. Je trouvai notre moyeu âge sans élégance ni tournure, entaché de fierté pédlacée et de pédantisme. Charlemagne m'apparut comme un gros palefrenier allemand; nos chevaliers me semblèrent des lourdauds, dont Thémistocle et Alcibiade eussent souri."

I have been almost unconsciously yielding to the attraction of the fascinating eloquence of this long passage to quote it in full. Besides, at this time especially, when the insolent material force has trodden under its heavy foot the nation whose crime is an hereditary love of freedom, it is consoling both to the modern representatives of the ancient Hellas and to those who feel sympathy for them, to listen to this encomium, if not funeral oration, on the glorious Mother of Art, Science and Philosophy, by two such venerable students of human culture.

Maine, then, expresses his conviction that India has entered into the movement, which we call modern progress, since the British communicated to it the leaven they had received from Greece.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into a critical examination of the political and social institutions of the West, and to confront them with those of the East. Whether Europe owes more

to Christianity and Germany or to Hellenism is still a debatable point. Greece, although the cradle of art, is not the only country where the seed of civilization first germinated. In the field of numismatics, barring the serial coinage which has been traced from Krishnarája to a Greek source, other Indian coinages were entirely autonomous. For, besides Lydia in Greece, which originated its system in the seventh century B. C., the idea of a coinage had been independently evolved both in China and in India. That it was invented in India long before the advent of Alexander the Great, I have already proved with the documentary evidence of coins of indisputable authenticity from my cabinet in the memoir on "The Primitive and Autonomous Coinage of India," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II., pp. 212, *et seq.* I have pointed therein to the fact of many coins in ancient India being both in shape and standard quite foreign to the Greek system, thus establishing the truth of the Hindus having been in actual possession of a real coinage in the time of Alexander's expedition. Even Quintus Curtius, relating how on Alexander reaching Taxila its king presented to him talents of coined silver, uses the words *signati argenti*, *signatus* being the term employed by the Romans or coined money.

India, then, had its own civilisation, although inferior in many respects to that of Greece. But while the civilisation of Greece was hurried and hastening to the fall which eventually overtook it, that of India was slow and halting, because less material and more spiritual in its aims. From its hesitating and tardily elaborated nature, as all spiritual problems are, with its personifications of the elements and the ethical ideality, derived from these elemental and phenomenal sensations, India has guaranteed its safety, while the contemporary civilisations have perished, leaving behind them those archaic vestiges which extort at all times one's love and admiration. India is still alive, with a fair prospect of longevity, if that most ruinous of human passions, 'greed,' does not shorten its life. It may seem a paradox, but it is nevertheless true, that the sacred soil of India, although historically as old as Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome, is still in its youth, not to say infancy. It has preserved its civilisation through the jealous care of its much-abused Bráhmans, "that nation of philosophers," as Prof. Max Müller calls them, who, in spite of the conflict they have been waging for centuries with the spirit of violence and subversion, assuming various names and forms under the varying circumstances of time and space, have a great mission of reform and regeneration

in store that contains the true solution of the antinomies which are shaking society at the present day. I am speaking, of course, of the genuine Bráhmans, who, like Carlyle's heroes, are the soul of all human progress in the world. But these reflections, although suggested by the Cavel *dramma* of Krishnarája, are far beyond the limits assigned to *The Origin of Bombay*.

The history of Bombay, subsequent to the time of Krishnarája, is a chapter involved in dense obscurity. It appears, that about the middle of the sixth century of our era the island of Elephanta—as it has been called, with a feminine terminative, after the time of the Portuguese, who named it "*a ilha do elephante*," or 'the island of the elephant,' from the figure of a stone elephant they discovered on landing there—was the seat of a powerful Government whose territory included probably all the islands of the North Konkan, and also some part of the mainland. It was called *Purí*, "the town" *par excellence*, and the capital of the dynasty of the Mauryas, probably the descendants of a young branch of the Mauryas of Pâtaliputra, modern Patna, founded in 322 B. C. by Chandragupta, the Sandrocottos of the Greeks.

This island has also been called *Ghárápurí*, but this is evidently a new designation. A large amount of erudition has been spent in finding out its meaning. Dr. Stevenson translated it "town of excavations"; Dr. Wilson suggested "hill of purification"; and somebody else changed it into *Giripurí* and then translated it "the hill city." Now the natives, who are the best judges of their own words, pronounce it *Ghárpurí*, a composite word consisting of घर (*Ghar*), 'a house,' and पुरी (*puri*), 'a town.' My late friend, Prof. Edward Rehatsek, more accurately called it "grotto-town." The natives simply joined the name of *puri*, a renowned town that no longer exists, to the visible object of *ghar*, 'the house' *par excellence*, the famous grotto to which a modern tourist seldom fails to pay a visit.

When the Portuguese took possession of the island it was called Pori or Pory. Garcia da Orta, who visited it in 1534, writes:—"There is another pagoda, better than all others, in an island called Pori, and we name it the island of the elephant. There is a hill on it, and at the top of this hill an underground dwelling (*caza*) hewn out of a living rock. This dwelling (or house) is as large as a monastery, and has open courts and cisterns of very good water. On the walls around there are large sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers, and of many human figures, such as Amazons, and of other various

kinds, well represented. It is indeed a thing worth seeing, and it seems that the devil put there all his strength and skill to deceive the heathens with his worship. Some say that the Chinese made it, when they were sailing by this land. And it may well be true, as it is so well built, and as the Chinese are só clever. The truth is that at present this pagoda is much damaged by the cattle that enter it inside, and in the year thirty-four (1534), when I came from Portugal, it was really worth seeing; and I saw it when Bassein (Baçaim) was at war with us, and soon after the king of Gujarát (Cambaia) gave it to Nuno da Cunha."—*Colloquios da India*, 2nd Edition, Lisbon, 1872, p. 212.

Simão Botelho, the strict and prudent minister of the finances during the ultra-liberal régime of the pious Viceroy, D. João de Castro, writing his *Tombo* or the Revenue Account in 1548, says:—"E a Ilha de pory, que he do alyfante, aforada a João Pirez, por provisão do dito Governador, por cento e cinquo pardaos . . . . . e agora . . . . . ."—*Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos, etc.*, Lisbon, 1868, Tome V. *Tombo do Estado da India*, pp. 157, 158. "And the Island of Pory, which is of the elephant, rented to João Pirez, by provision from the same Governor (D. João de Castro), for hundred and five pardaos . . . . and now . . . ." The amount of the quit-rent in 1548 is left blank.

Thus the two earliest of the Portuguese writers on Bombay and the adjacent territory call the present Elephanta Island by the name of Pori or Pory, and not Gharápuri or Gárápurí, which is evidently a later designation.

The island contains, moreover, monuments of various epochs—the Buddhist mounds and cisterns of the third century or earlier, the remains of the ancient city of Purí, now identified with Moreh, on the north-east corner of the island, from the sixth to the tenth century, and lastly the Brahmanic caves of the seventh or eighth century. Thus the whole island is not only an object of great antiquarian interest, but a place of sanctity for the two principal religions of the Hindus.

This name Purí has given rise to a rather curious invention. Friar Oderic of Pordenone, speaking of Thána in about 1322, says: "This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of king Porus, who waged so great a battle with king Alexander." Here Porus appears to have been suggested to the good old missionary by the Mauryan Purí.

With regard to the builders of the caves, the oldest European

authority on the island, Garcia da Orta, of whom we shall have to speak more at length hereafter, says that he had heard that it was built by the Chinese; while Gasparo Balbi in 1580 asserts that it was built by Alexander the Great to mark the end of his conquests. Porus and Alexander are, of course, mere names associated with a tradition based on the word *Puri*.

Dr. Burgess, in his "Elephanta," places, at the top of his old authorities, *Discourse of Voyages* by J. H. Van Linschoten, its date being given as 1579. Linschoten, a Dutchman, who came out to India as a valet (Port. *familiar*) of the Archbishop D. Frei Vicente da Fonseca, did not arrive until 1583 in Goa, where he remained about 5 years. Nor is he the first authority, for Garcia da Orta, as we have seen above, visited the island in 1534 and published its description in his *Colloquios* in Goa in 1563. It seems that Linschoten never visited the cave-temple, and his description, as suspected by the Count de Ficalho, in his excellent work, *Garcia da Orta e o seu Tempo*, is borrowed from that in the *Colloquios*.

Returning to the Mauryas, their capital Puṛī is described in a Châlukya inscription of the beginning of the 7th century of our era as the Lakshmí or the goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean. It is said therein that the city was attacked by Pulakeśi with hundreds of ships, which not only indicates its opulence but its situation as a coast-town. Its identification with Moreh, probably the modern version of Maurya, has a plausible basis in the ancient ruins in the village. Among these, while clearing the shore for the Port Trust, were found, some thirty years ago, two copper-plates, which have unfortunately disappeared. Another relic discovered was a small oval seal of a light ruby-coloured cornelian, set in a gold ring of an archaic type, with the word *Nárâyana*, engraved in letters of the 5th or 6th century, which is now in my possession. This is evidently a Mauryan relic of great interest. (*See* Plate II., No. 6.)

The mention of this valuable archæological find at Moreh, about thirty years ago, leads me to describe another find of an anthropological character. This consisted of two stone jars, spherical in shape, with flat bottoms, found some ten years ago in excavating the Graving Dock. The jars were found standing upright and covered with stoppers. They were of grey trap, 26 inches in horizontal and $23\frac{3}{4}$ inches in vertical circumference. The hollow was four inches deep, $51\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the equator and 4 inches at the mouth, being

made with well-tempered metal tools. Their age cannot be ascertained. It may range from 2,000 years downwards, for stone bombshells made in this fashion, and cannon-balls of various sizes of a similar stone, have been found at Damán, Bassein, and Thána, specimens of which in an assorted series I have preserved. It is conjectured that the stone-pots were deposited on some religious occasion, perhaps of a funeral character, and not in any way worn by use. An illustration of one of these pots will be found in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. II., p. 243.

This find again suggests the description of another discovery in the Prince's Dock, almost about the same time as the finding of the stone jars, being of some importance to the geological history of Bombay. It was a thick forest of upright stumps of trees of a species still existing in the neighbourhood of this island, the *khair* (*Acacia catechu*). There were in all 382 trees; 223 standing erect, and 159 prostrate, though still rooted in the soil. They were found on a decayed trap-rock soil, and overlaid by the thick stratum of clay, which forms the real bottom of the harbour, under the more modern mud. Among the trees one was recumbent, charred in the middle, but it bore no trace of its having been cut down with any tool.

As late as two hundred years ago the island of Bombay was one of a group of distinct small rocky islets, ranged in nearly parallel rows and separated by the waters of the sea. Originally, then, before the work of silting up and of the reclamation of the ground had progressed, this single island was an archipelago of mere island rocks, divided by narrow creeks. And in prehistoric times, it seems to have been a portion of the mainland. When broken off from it by volcanic agency that portion became a cluster of rocky islets,—some say seven to correspond with the Heptanesia of the Greeks; but they are really many more. Ptolemy (VII. 195) was the first to vaguely designate Heptanesia as a locality situated on the Pirate Coast between Bombay and Goa, which Lassen identified with Bombay, the harbour of which was believed to be formed of seven islands.

But, in fact, Bombay is one of a multitude of islands situated on the North-Western shore of India, which, varying from a few yards to a hundred square miles in area, fringe the coast from 19° to 20° N. L. It belongs to that picturesque group of about twenty-five islands, known as the Bombay group, *viz.*:—Bassein, nearly 32 miles northward, Dárávi, Versová, just off the shores of Sálsette, Sálsette itself, the largest of them all, Mazagon, Trombay, Máhim, Varlí,

Bombay or Mumbae, Old Woman's Island, or Colaba, Elephanta, Butcher's Island, Gibbet or Cross Island, Karanja, Henerí or Underi, Keneri or Khanderi and other detached rocky islets scarcely able to contain a fisherman's hut, complete the group. Several of these are now united, either by bridges, causeways or embankments, or by the deposition of shell concrete or recent conglomerate, which were once separated by merely tidal creeks, easily waded or forded at low-water.

The island of Bombay is almost trapezoidal in configuration, having its long axis nearly N. by E. and S. by W., its short parallel side lying northwards. Geologically considered, in accordance with the division of insular regions, proposed by L. Von Buch, into round and longitudinal, Bombay belongs to the latter category; while following the system of Hoffman, of distinguishing them into continental and pelagic or oceanic islands, it belongs to the former. But closely allied though it is in structure to the adjoining islands and the neighbouring coast, Bombay presents local differences of considerable interest. The evidence of its component rocks proves that there have been in ancient times long intervals between the successive outpourings of which its strata are constituted. It also proves that it is a broken fragment from the mainland during the many upheavals and depressions to which it has been subjected. Finally it is said that the Bombay harbour was once a valley, and the *Khair* forest must have been one of its products.

The remains of the *Acacia catechu* submerged forest, 32 feet below high-water mark, are, indeed, a record of a decided upheaval and subsequent subsidence by volcanic action. There is no doubt, then, that the existence of the modern Bombay is due to the forgotten or unknown—for it took place apparently before the island was inhabited—subsidence of the basalt floor of the land, which has given to the Bombay coast pretty nearly its present coast-line, and all that the infant settlement needed, where ships of modern commerce can get shelter in deep water in all seasons. An account of this physical and prehistoric feature of Bombay will be found in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*, Vol. V., pp. 132 and 377.

A propos of the geology of Bombay, I think it may be worth while to add here the following note, which I have found among my papers, written more than twenty-five years ago, and a reference to which was made in my work on the History and Antiquities of Bassein

p. 119. "One willing to learn more about the geology of Bombay," the note runs, "may consult with profit several valuable papers by previous observers, published on the subject, an enumeration of which, with short bibliographical notices, is appended here for the sake of those desiring more ample information, although it does not pretend to be a complete list."

Robert D. Thomson, M.D. A Sketch of the Geology of the Bombay Island.—*Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1836, Vol. V., p. 159. This paper is somewhat discursive, many matters being discussed which are not directly connected with geology, on which subject it is meagre and imperfect, as he makes no mention of the stratified rocks which form so important a characteristic of these islands.

C. Lush, M.D. Geological Notes of the Northern Konkan, &c. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, December, 1836, Vol. V., p. 761.—He was the first to describe the horizontal strata of sandstone containing shells as overlying the trap-rocks.

G. F. Clark. A Paper in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, January, 1847, Lond., Vol. III., p. 221.—The chief portion of this paper refers to the Konkan and Dekkan, with occasional allusions to the islands; a short but clear and correct outline of the fresh-water formations is also given.

Dr. G. Buist. Geology of the Island of Bombay. *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, April, 1851, Vol. X., p. 167.—In this valuable paper basaltic ridges and their composition are often referred to. It describes the position, physical features, various kinds of rocks, clays, soils, waters, &c. It really treats, as the author states, of the economic geology of the island.

Henry Carter, M.D. Geology of the Island of Bombay, with a geological map and plates. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1862, Vol. IV., p. 161.—This is an essay that deals with scientific and speculative inquiries. Competent observers have said that although this paper is vitiated by having overlooked the stratigraphical relations of the rocks, still it is a valuable record of geological observations of the island, which is so closely allied to the other islands on the Coast.

A. B. Wynne. On the Geology of the Island of Bombay. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey*, Calcutta, 1866, Vol. V., p. 173.—This is an elaborate and exhaustive treatise on the subject, and evidently use has been made of papers which had previously appeared. The com-

position of the rocks is minutely described and details regarding their stratification given more at length. This paper combines speculation with economic geology.

Besides these, there are several other papers of great merit from the pens of Col. Sykes, Malcolmson, Newbold, Leith, &c., which throw much light on the mineralogical and lithological conditions of the island, most of which are embodied in the *Geological Papers on Western India*, Bombay, 1857. Here the note ends. To the above names those of Medlecott and Blanford may now be added, the last being, I believe, the latest authority. After this somewhat hurried geologico-bibliographical survey of the island, we return once again to its history, just where we had left it, at Purí, the capital of the Mauryas, in the island of the cave-temples in the Bombay harbour.

In the ninth and following centuries, Purí was the capital of the feudatory princes of the Northern Konkan branch of the Siláhára family. It was then the chief town of a territorial division known as the Konkan fourteen hundred. The Siláháras were the rulers of Bombay and the surrounding villages for the long period of 450 years, from 810 to 1260 A. D.

It is unnecessary to enter into minute details regarding the history of Bombay during the Siláhára rule. Although there is little that is new to be said upon the subject, still it may be worth while to give the outlines of that period, recording such facts as emphasize the state of civilization of the island for nearly five centuries, which constitute the mediæval age of Western India.

An inscription on the architrave of the verandah in the Krishṇagiri or Kanheri Cave No. 78, in Sálsette, dated about 844 A. D., mentions that a Siláhára prince, governing the North Konkan from his capital Purí, having, through his Minister Vishṇu, done obeisance to the Buddhist community, occupying the cells of that famous monastery, made certain grants in coins, called *drammas*, to the monks for the purpose of making repairs and providing clothes and books.

Another inscription, found at Parel, near the old Government House, dated 1187 A. D., records a grant by Aparáditya of 24 *drammds*, without any affix. And a third, among others, dated 1260 A. D., found near Urán, in the Karanja Island, which is in the Bombay harbour, records a grant of 162 *páruttha drammas* to a Bráhman of Śrí Sthánaka or Thánii.

In the dark ages of Western India, which extend from the 6th to

the 13th century of our era, there is an absolute penury of written annals. With the exception of the inscriptions, our only authentic documents are coins called *drammas*, of which there are not less than seven or eight classes. The *Siron* or *Sidoniya* inscription mentions several distinct kinds, with dates from 903 to 968 A. D., by the general name of *drammas* or *dramyas*. There are other varieties, besides these, mentioned in inscriptions of various dates from 875 to 1216 A. D., which are reported in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *Archæological Survey*, and *Indian Antiquary*. Authentic as they are, their testimony is, however, of a character which the Egyptians would perhaps call hieratic. From entire absence of legends, except in a few classes, some highly enigmatic designations, such as Srî Somala Deva or Srî Vigraha Pála, all is left to mere conjecture. But what they lack in writing is supplied by symbols, which only those who can interpret them correctly will find to be suggestive of a synopsis or a long course of events generally hidden from the reader of written records. In the whole range of Indian epigraphy, whether on copper-plates or stone-slabs, there is hardly a symbolic language so eloquent as the silent expression of some of these numismatic documents. Although the Siláhára *drammas*, or those current in Bombay and the adjoining country during the Middle Ages, bear types revealing apparently little through its hieratic symbology, still they speak plainly to those who care to read the facts embodied in them.

I shall here confine myself for the present to those *drammas* which in some inscriptions are called *páruttha*. What páruttha means nobody yet knows. It may have some remote connection with the word pahlava, that is, Arsacidan, Parthian, or Pârasika or Persian. Anyhow, the type of the coin is evidently debased Sassanian. On the other hand, it may be the Kshatrapa silver hemidrachm, in contradistinction to the *Gadhia*, *Gadiya* or *Gadhaiya* coin, which is sometimes simply called *dramma*. And the name *Tátariya*, applied to these coins by Ibn Haukal, Sulaimán, and other Mahomedan writers may perhaps be derived from Táta in Sindh, where this coinage probably originated; for Táta, the name of the city, was then often applied to the whole Sindh. They were introduced into Sindh by Abdul Malik in 685 A. D. Masudi (Sprenger 22) calls these *drammas Talato-wiya*, which means *dirhams* weighing one and one-third. And this is the exact weight of the Siláhára *dramma*, when compared with the Ommiade or Abbaside *dirhams*; for while the Arab *dirham* weighs

45 grains, the *gadiya dramma* weighs 65, which is also the weight of the Greek *drachma*. But in module the Siláhára *dramma* is the direct descendant of the hemidrachms of the Guptas and of the Kshatrapas.

These coins are found plentifully in Western India,—in Baroda, in the neighbouring districts of Marvar, Káthiawad, Málva, Gujarát, and also in the Konkan. The latest find of these coins was brought to me in July last. A large hoard was found at Nágothna, on the eastern side of the Bombay harbour. They are known by the name of *Gadhia paisá*. Some derive the word *Gadhia* from the Ghardabhiya dynasty, which is identified with an Indo-Sassanian family of that name, subsequent to the year 420 A. D., who probably first introduced that type of coinage into India. They are called Indo-Sassanians for combining Indian characters with the Sassanian types. And as the word sounds like the Gujaráti ગધેડું (*gadhehum*), in its neutral form, meaning 'an ass,' it is called 'ass-money.' Others believe it to be connected with *Gadi* or throne, which the grotesque fire-altar on the reverse is said to resemble. A third etymology is that of a Sanskrit metric name *gadyánaka*, गद्यानक, which is equal to 32 *gunjás* or berries of the plant *Abrus precatorius*.

They are small thick pieces of silver, or of copper, plated or only washed with silver, but made after the same pattern. Their average weight, as said above, is 65 Troy grains. The earliest thin broad pieces of silver, current in Northern India, were copied from the type prevalent in Persia from the time of the revival of Persian power under the Sassanian kings. In all these coins there is a gradual change on the obverse from the Persian head into an oblong button; while from the fire-altar on the reverse there is a complete gradation from the flames of the altar with the attendant priests, first to a pyramid of dots, and then to a series of lines and dots, giving rise to the semblance of a *Gadi* or 'throne.' (*See* Plate II., and the descriptive account further on.)

Dr. Stevenson, after describing some of the later Western Kshatrapa coins, found near Junnar fifty years ago, says: "The oldest coins, when we may suppose the Grecian connection to have been the closest, are well executed, and the more modern are of a much inferior type. The art of coining decayed with the decay of the Grecian connection. Let patriotic Hindus consider the lesson such a fact teaches." *Journal B. B. Rl. Asiatic Society*, Vol. II., p. 377.

What would Dr. Stevenson say if, after the closure of the Grecian cycle, he had contemplated the new field, opened by an

entirely new connection, undergoing the same process of birth, of growth, and of decay? Subject to the inexorable laws of morphology, which, though apparently fallacious in particular, are always true in general, coinages throughout the civilized world have sustained these unconsciously gradual yet constant changes until their entire annihilation, and subsequent substitution by new types.

In India, as elsewhere, alien influences linger a long time amidst old traditions, disguised and masked as the latter are by new ones. The faculties of receptiveness and retention are, however, characteristic of this country, which gave rise to the apparently paradoxical belief that India, although the oldest, is still the youngest of peoples. Its admirable power of assimilation, and the facility with which, in spite of its secular apathy and immobility, it adapts itself to foreign ideas and impulses and fashions, are dominant factors in the preservation of its vitality. Nations, who, on the contrary, with that perverse exclusiveness begotten of pride, or from sheer sloth or inertia, which anthropologists have found to be inherent in human nature, in greater or lesser degree, react against the contact of new ideas, seldom fail to become decrepit, and are doomed eventually to perish.

Waves of immigrants and of invaders of different races and creeds, from Dravidians to Aryans, have crossed from time immemorial into India. And the new ideas introduced by them have been duly registered, at a more advanced stage of culture, in that most useful, because most durable, instrument of social economics, and a sort of State barometer—the coin. Then by the operation of the laws of morphology they have assumed the form and shape most congenial to the temperament or natural disposition, as well as to the environment of the indigenes who have used it. As in liquids currents form themselves owing either to difference of level or to inequality in specific gravity, so in India currents have from time immemorial flown from foreign countries owing to tribal or national differences and inequalities until they have attained to one level.

India is, as everybody knows, a vast continental equilateral triangle, with an area of 1,600,000 square miles, besides the islands, with a population that is a fifth part of the human race. It is a gigantic human caldron, seething with the fermentation of ideas from the primitive hunting and pastoral tribes to the most advanced democratic or radical principles of the day.

After the 'Grecian connection,' to use Dr. Stevenson's phrase, India has passed through the Persian and the Arab or Mahomedan connec-

tions. For the last four hundred years, since the Admiral Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, it has been under the influence of the Western or Christian connection. And this period, about to enter upon its quin-centenary, has, indeed, been the most fertile of all in portentous events, if not in actual revolutions. Of all civilised countries, India has always been in the throes of slow, noiseless, but constant changes. If there is anything in the world, which, from its subjectivity, has an element of permanency in it, it is religion. Yet in India even religions, like governments, spring up with the swift and rank luxuriance of its tropical vegetation in the rain, to be vanished in the first dry season. But what will be the result of this new experiment? At present one can only reply with Alessandro Manzoni—'Ai posteri l'ardua sentenza.'

Since 1497, then, a new era has dawned. Seeds of new ideas have been sown and germinated. Some, in spite of the iron-bound hierarchy of caste, custom, and tradition, have been assimilated, while others have been eliminated. Nor has there been any lack of men to stir up the apathetic and to weld silently the scattered or even heterogenous elements into one composite and progressive nation, whose identity of interests has created the indissoluble bond of common citizenship. There has been no want of enthusiastic publicists who have hoped that the grand ideal of human solidarity will at last enlist old India in the great concert of the modern Areopagi.

But, in the meantime, let us ask what is the lesson the past teaches? The Persian influence began most probably with Behram Gor, who visited India in 436 A. D. Being carried on through the reigns of Naushirvan and his grandson Parviz, it extended itself throughout Western India down to the end of the Siláhára dynasty. It did not supplant, but supplemented the Greek influence, with the modifications inherent in such a process. The dramas of the Siláhára princes testify to this fact. While both the Greek nomenclature and mitrology were retained, the types were changed. Instead of being hemidrachms, which the Western Satraps copied from the Indo-Bactrian coins of Menander and Apollodotus, and which, as said above, were once current at Barygaza, modern Broach, as late as the time of the Periplus, the Siláhára drammas corresponded in weight with the Greek ΔΡΑΧΜΗ'. But in type they were the direct descendants of the *hemidrachms* of the Kshatrapas, with the substitution of the Sassanian altar or *gadí* for the original Indian *chaitya*, besides the

symbols of the sun and moon, which were common to both the Indian Satraps and the Sassanians.

This new foreign influence appears to have continued in Western India from the 6th to the 12th century, as illustrated by several archæological remains. Besides the paintings or frescoes in the Ajantá and in the Bágh, caves in Málva, believed to be of the sixth century of our era, there are some sculptures quite characteristic of the Persians. In the cave-temple of the island of Elephanta, for instance, there are some male figures whose features are evidently adopted from Sassanian models. The attitude of some of the figures in a group in the Lonad Cave, belonging to the 6th or 7th century, representing the Court of a Mauryan king, is also of Persian origin. Their hands as laid on their mouths, apparently out of respect to the king, is a feature of the Achæmenian times. The Persepolitan pictures bear to this day images with the laying of their hands on their mouths as a sign of respect. But this act of civility appears to have been in use in the Court of the Zamorin or Samori of Calicut, as late as when Vasco da Gama arrived there in May 1498. His *Roteiro*, p. 60, says:—"e quando algum homem lhe falla tem a mão ante a boca e está arredado," 'and when any man speaks to him, places the hand before the mouth and stands aside.' And the Parsis in Bombay still use the *padán, i. e., paiti-dana* (a Persian word or contraction پدان *padán*, from the Zend [illegible], *páiti dána*; *páiti* meaning to keep on). It is a square piece of white cloth, tied with a string round the face to cover the mouth in the act of worship. Both religious silence as a sign of reverence, and hygienic prevention against one's breath fouling the sacred precincts, are said to be involved in this ancient Zoroastrian practice and ritual.

The Siláhára kings appear to have remained under the Ráshtrakuṭas of Málkhed until 997 A. D., when Aparájita became independent. The sphere of his rule embraced the Shatshashṭi (Sálsette) district, of which Sthánaka (Ṭháṇa) was the chief town; while Supára is also said to have been another of its principal cities. But Mallikárjun, another Siláhára prince, and king of the Konkan, from 1156 to 1160 A. D., as far as the inscriptions go, is described as son of Mahánand, and his capital as Shatánandpur, 'surrounded by the ocean.' This may be another name for Purí, the above-mentioned Mauryan and Siláhára capital on the Elephanta island. Shatánandpur may perhaps be a later designation of the island to which Diogo do

Couto refers as Santupori in his VIIth *Decada*, written in 1603, as follows:—

"Both this large and the other small pagodas are known from the writings of the Hindus to have been the work of a Kanara king called Banasur, who advised their construction, as well as of some beautiful palaces near them where he resided, of which even in my time there were some vestiges and many ruins of cut stones and large unburnt bricks. These palaces or this city, which is said to have been very beautiful, was called Sirbali, and the hill where the Elephant pagoda stands Simpdeo. A daughter of the king called Uquá, who dedicated herself in this pagoda to perpetual virginity, lived there for many years. The ancients say that during the time of king Banasur gold rained for the space of three hours at this island of the elephant, and it was therefore called Santupori, which in their language means golden island." *Decadas*, ed. 1777, Dec. VII., Pt. I., pp. 260, 261."

It is impossible, within the narrow limits of these remarks, to analyse in detail this interesting mythological account of the island. The Harivaṃsa, which is one of the later episodes of the Mahábhárata, recounts the birth and genealogy of Krishṇa, and the details of his early life. It is a long poem, longer than the Iliad and Odyssey combined, wherein is found the whole myth of Bán Asur and Usha, proving it to be of ancient date and of Brahmanic origin. Thus, the Banasur of Diogo do Couto is Bán the Asur, Uquá is Usha, Sirbali is Śrî Bali, and Simpdeo is probably Śiv Dev. But is Santupori the Portuguese version of Shátanandpur? Or is it the common Shantipuri, or 'holy city,' from *Shánti*, 'tranquillity or holiness,' and *puré*, 'a city?' The shower of gold is evidently connected from mythological associations with the Shonitpur of the Bánasur episode, which has more recently been dramatised in the Madhurániruddh. And the easy conversion of Shonitpur into Sonapur must have given rise to the myth of the shower of gold from *Sona*, 'gold.' But what relation does the Sonapur, old and new, extending from the Marine Lines to the Charni Station, to the east of the Queen's Road, where the burning and burial grounds are now situated, bear to this legend?

The Siláhára princes were a race of builders, and patrons of literature. There are monuments of their architecture in well-dressed blocks of stone and richly-carved sculptures scattered over the North Konkan. In Bombay their only monument, however, is the Válkeśvar Temple at Malabar Point. The remains consist of pillars or their capitals, statues, carved stones, and some other fragments,

supposed to be of the tenth century of our era, while others may be of even an earlier date. Among other interesting remains are the so-called *páliyás* or memorial stones of the Siláhára epoch, the best specimens of which are to be found at Borivli, in Sálsette. When Moore cleared the site, where the ruins of this "rather elegant temple" were gathered, he found underground a triform head, about two feet square and eighteen inches thick, similar to the famous colossal three-faced bust, called Trimúrti, which is the central figure at the back of the Elephanta Cave. This relic is now in the India House Museum, and it is pictured at plate 81 of Moore's *Pantheon*. It is probably of the same age as the Elephanta Cave Temple. Besides this fragment and other well-hewn stones and several mutilated sculptured figures, which the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Wálkeśvar—like the mediæval Romans who built their palaces with the stones of the Flavian Amphitheatre—have taken for the erection of their tank and other temples, there is a beautifully-carved Shesh-Náráyan, which is now seen on the ground opposite the first passage that leads down to the village.

Near the Wálkeśvar Temple, probably dedicated to Trimúrti or the Hindu triad, is the so-called Śrígundi or 'Lucky Stone.' It is situated at the extremity of Malabar Point, where pilgrims resort for the purpose of regeneration, after passing through a cleft rock, fancied to be the *yoni*, the symbol of the passive or female power.

There is hardly a Hindu temple in Bombay, as elsewhere, without its legendary history. Each of its gods and his shrine has a story of his origin and of his prowess. It is called *Máhátmya*, which means greatness, generally an extract from one of the eighteen Puránas, which are to a large extent drawn from the two great Epics.

Although the modern diplomatic criticism has treated the Puránas with a certain air of neglect, if not of contempt, there is yet a good deal of interest to be attached to these 'old,' as the name indicates, sacred writings of the Hindus. It is probable that there was an earlier class of Puránas of which these are but partial representations. They repeat the theoretical cosmogony of the two great poems, they expand and systematise their chronological computations, and give a more definite and connected representation of the mythological fiction and historical tradition of the mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief. But they are not the real authorities for this belief as a whole. Their object is to assign paramount importance to individual deities, in the variety and purport of the rites and

observances addressed to them; in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of these divinities; and in the efficacy of implicit devotion to them. It is to this class that the *Máhátmya* of the Wálkeśvar Temple belongs.

If a comparison could be instituted between the Puránas and similar writings among other nations, analogous in style and subject, it would be found that the only work comparable to them is the Talmud. Milman's description of the latter as "that extraordinary monument of human industry, human intelligence and human folly" is fully applicable to the Puránas. They belong to that class of works of which Whately said :—"(They) contain perhaps as much absurd trash as any in existence, which yet no educated man ought to be wholly unacquainted with." Or, in Bacon's words, the contents of the Puránas "are to be tasted, but not swallowed."

The legend of the *Válukeśvara Máhátmya* runs thus:—Ráma, on his way to Laṅká to recover his wife Síta, who had been carried off by Rávaṇa, getting wearied of the long journey, halted at Wálkeśvar along with his brother Lakhsmaṇa, who was in the habit of providing Ráma every night with a new *liṅga* or the ithyphallic emblem of Śiva, identical with that of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, from Káśí. The night Ráma stayed at Wálkeśvar, his brother forgot or failed to get a *liṅga*, and Ráma, growing impatient, made one himself of the sand at the spot, hence the name, from *váluka*, which means 'sand,' and Válukeśvara, 'lord of sand.' But after all, this is a well-known Hindu myth, of which many such are related of a score of other places, as making and dropping *liṅgas* in the sand.

On the decline of the Siláháras, a new dynasty arose to rule over Bombay and the surrounding North Konkan during the latter part of the thirteenth century of our era. The name of the first prince of this dynasty who took possession of the island is given as Bhimdev or Bhíma Rája; but, unlike Homer, no place claims the honour of being his birth-place. Just as the Kṛishṇarája of the Cavel coin was placed between the families of the Ráshṭrakuṭas of Malkhêd, and the Kalachuryas or Chedis of Tripura, Bhíma Rája is placed between the Yádavas of Devagiri and the Aṇahilaváda kings of Gujarát. There we shall certainly leave him, as, from the traditions collected by the Prabhús, his followers, there is, with two exceptions, little that is worth recording about him.

The first exception is that his revenue account was kept in *dammas*, which was either a minute copper coin or mere money of account.

This is, again, one of those morphological changes in coins of which I have already quoted some examples above. *Damma* is evidently derived from the Greek drachma of the Indo-Bactrians, and *Dramma* of the Kshatrapas and their successors down to the Siláháras. In the time of Bhíma Rája this currency had degenerated to such an extent that the silver coin, after passing through the plated stage, had become copper. In still later times the Emperor Akbar issued his insignificant copper *dams*, traceable to the same source, which gave rise to the well-known proverb 'not worth a dam.'

It is, perhaps, not generally known that in India, as in other countries, the gold coinage has often, in process of time, transferred its own denomination to the silver and even to the copper coinage, until at the end of its downward course it has assumed a nominal form, as mere money of account. The Portuguese *reis*, still known in the revenue account of Bombay as *reas*, or *res*, are an instance in point. The Roman gold *denarius*, the Arab *dinár*, is another, now represented through its initial letter by the British penny. The South India gold *pratáb* became in the same manner a silver *pardao* amongst the Portuguese. But I need not enter into all these fluctuations in the value and standard of money, a detailed account of which, for those who care to know, will be found in my *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*. My only reason to refer to these changes here is to accentuate the complete gradation from the Greek silver drachma of the Indo-Bactrian kings, through its various intermediate stages, to the *damma* of Bhíma, the ruler of Máhim, and the *dam* of the Emperor Akbar, and of some of his Moghal successors. Forty of these *dams* went to a rupee, and became eventually so paltry in value among the wealthy as to pass into the proverb quoted above.

The other exception is the foundation of the city of Máhim by Bhíma, with the introduction of a colony of the Prabhús into the islands. Goldsmith remarks that all history increases in value the nearer it approaches our own time. But the Hindu period of the history of Bombay is throughout the same in value. It is so thoroughly confused in names, dates, and facts that one must be thankful if he can, by groping through a number of coins and inscriptions, catch an impressionist's glimpse to enable him to fill up the outlines of even a very rough sketch.

After the fall of the Siláháras, or at least after a partial decline of that celebrated dynasty, which for nearly five hundred years ruled over the destinies of Bombay and the adjacent country, from their capital of

Purî at the Elephant island, or from their chief town of Thána, we meet with the name of Bhíma whose rank in the royal category, like that of the Kṛishṇarája of the Cavel dramma, is highly problematical. Two powerful dynasties may in the meantime dispute the honour of claiming him among their kings.

The local traditions, embodied in a work called Bimbákyán, or History of Bimb, said to have been written in 1139, refer to a Bhíma, without giving his *provenance* or exact date. He is said to have marched into the Northern Konkan and conquered it, after defeating the Nayak chiefs of the locality. He is, then, said to have founded a city called Mahikavati in a place called Baradabet or desert village, and now Máhim. He is also said to have divided this newly acquired territory into fifteen Mahals or districts, to which he appointed as many adhikaris or governors. On his arrival he found Bombay covered with the babul trees (*Acacia arabica*), with few straggling houses, mostly occupied by Kôlis or fishermen. It contained only two temples, of Srî Válkeśvar at Malabar Point, which I have already mentioned, and of Mumbadevi on the Esplanade, of which I shall speak hereafter. He also encouraged the cultivation of the cocoanut trees, and introduced many new fruit-bearing plants. Bhíma again divided each district into twelve pakhadis, attaching a fief or manor to each pakhadi. This attracted Bráhmans and traders to the island, who built houses, temples to their kuladevis, and dharmaśalas at Bombay, Máhim, and the surrounding villages.

But who is Bhíma who thus colonised Máhim and Bombay with the Prabhús, who attracted or invited other castes and tribes to settle there, and beautified them with cocoa-palm groves, gardens, and plantations of useful trees? He is the first benefactor of our island, and it is incumbent on us, residents here, in token of our gratitude, to cherish his blessed memory. It is also due to him that the first Europeans who ever paid a visit to the island, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, named it *a ilha da bôa vida*, "the island of the good life," for Bhíma's plantations, groves, gardens, and houses had, indeed, made it by this time a place of recreation and amusement.

It seems that Bhíma or Bhímadeva was a Chálukya prince of the house of the Solankis, whose capital was Aṇahilaváda or Aṇahilapúra in Gujarát. He was a powerful prince who reigned for 42 years from 1022 to 1064 A. D. The Solanki princes were Sivaites, holding the god Somanátha of Prabhása in great veneration, and the country was a great maritime power in their time.

Hitherto only two of his copperplates have been known and published, one dated 1030 and the other 1037 A. D. But I have found a third one to commemorate the happy reign of this old monarch of Bombay.

It appears that the connection of the Solanki Bhíma with Bombay brings the latter more within the domain of Gujarát than that of the Dekkan. These are the two great ethnological and political regions between which "the city of the good life" has been oscillating from the time this group of islands first came within the sphere of their influence.

Mr. Murphy, in his *Remarks on the history of the oldest races now settled in Bombay*, published in the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, 1844, Vol. I., pp. 128 *et seq*, says that the great influx of a variety of castes and races into Bombay may be traced to certain events, which render the political and commercial history of this island a series of living records. By studying their records, traditions, usages, origin and meanings of the names of localities, and especially their languages, one may fairly arrive at certain conclusions regarding the history of this island, and of its dependencies, particularly Sálsette, which cannot fail to be of very considerable interest. Among the various dialects of Maráthi spoken in Bombay he mentions in particular that spoken by the native Christians of Sálsette, Máhim, Matunga, and Mazagon. This must have been the language of a large portion of the population of these islands, before their conversion from Hinduism by the Portuguese to Roman Catholicism, which many of them still profess.

And the Portuguese Missionaries were not slow to adopt, amongst other measures for the spread of Christianity amongst them, this language. I happen to possess two interesting works by these Missionaries of the 16th century. As they may be of interest not only to the general reader, but also to the philologist and antiquarian, it may be worth while to notice them here more at length.

One of these works is the famous *Puran* of Father Guimarães, a Portuguese missionary. This work was first printed in Lisbon in 1659, and since then two other editions have been published in Bombay, in 1845 and in 1876. It is a religious metrical drama, representing the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and death of Christ. It consists of 36 cantos, each canto with a heading. It runs in stanzas of four lines each, there being altogether 16,000 lines. Thus in point of magnitude it surpasses most of the celebrated European epic

poems. The first canto, which contains 108 stanzas, begins thus :—

Christãovando aica tumi,	Christian people, hear you
Equê chitim cantha Saibinichi,	With one mind the story of the Lady,
Caixi sambauly Santa Annache udrim,	How she was conceived in womb of Saint Anne
Pârmessorache curpexim.	By the Grace of the Supreme.

And the last canto, which has 239 stanzas, has the following, which seems to be based on the Latin hymn *Quam formosa ejus forma*. It runs thus :—

Ca sârupâ tichâm rupa,	How beautiful her appearance !
Nahim suãrgim ani dunin conala,	None in heaven or the world has such ;
Amânchian nahim bâgâve tila,	We cannot look upon her,
Manus âssun amam gair diste sâvai.	Though a human being, she appears quite different from us.

This curious *Puran* of Padre Francisco Vaz de Guimarães, in the dialect of the aborigines of Bombay, was submitted to a critical examination by my venerable friend, the Rev. Murray Mitchel, whom I had the pleasure to meet in Rome in 1878, long after he had left Bombay, the centre of his missionary activity, along with the late Dr. John Wilson, during the second quarter of this century. In 1849 he published a memoir, entitled *Marathi Works composed by the Portuguese*, in the Journal of the local Asiatic Society, comparing the dialect with the pure Maráthi, and naturally finding fault with the former, which he called a debased Maráthi, with a considerable mixture of Gujaráti and Hindustáni. But the late Mr. Rivara, in his *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, published in Goa in 1858, remarked that such a comparison was as good as that between the Castilian and the Portuguese. It is, in short, the dialect spoken by the primitive settlers of this group of islands, mostly fishermen and cultivators, and adopted by their Portuguese religious teachers for their instruction. There was at that time no other language in Bombay, except the Portuguese. It is since then that this island has become a real Babel of tongues. First, there were the four or five classes of settlers who came with Bhíma or soon after, and then the repeated waves of immigrants from all parts of Western India, and even from other parts of the world, bringing with them their own dialects, along with their creeds and habits, which have rendered Bombay an anthropological museum, and a true centre of the diverse

varieties and types of mankind, far surpassing the mixed nationalities of Cairo and Constantinople.

The other work is a grammar of this dialect, written by a Portuguese missionary in the 16th century, but published in 1858. The title of the book is *Grammatica da Lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte*, 'A Grammar of the Konkani language in the dialect of the North.' The dialect of the North is used here in contradistinction to the Konkani spoken in the Southern Konkan. This is the only grammar extant of the language of the old races of Bombay. They are the Kôlis; Bhangùlis, who are trumpeters, from the Maráthi word बागुल (*bágúl*), a bugbear, or a bogle; and Bhandáris, who are toddy-drawers. Then follow the Palshis, who are Bráhmans, acting priests, medical practitioners, and astrologers; Pathâne or Pathare Prabhús, acting as administrators and clerks; and Panchkalshis and Vadvals, who are carpenters and gardeners.

With the exception of the primitive tribe of the Kôlis, all the other classes are said to have been settled in Bombay and its neighbourhood by the famous Bhíma, who is evidently, as above said, the Solanki-ruler of Anahilaváda in Gujarát, and not the Yádav Bhíma of Devagiri. This double personality of Bhíma may be decided by a reference to the only chronicle that alludes to this event, the Bimbákyán. If this work was really written in 1139 A.D., it cannot refer to the Yádava Bhíma, whose date is a great deal later. For the second Bhíma, the traditional chief of Thána, was a son of Rámachandra, the fifth Yádava ruler of Devagiri, and overlord of the North Konkan. He flourished between 1286 and 1292 A.D. He may have been a Viceroy of the Dekkan king, and Bhiundi can, perhaps, be traced to his name. He probably ruled the inland parts of the district, while the Solankis held the coast. In 1292, according to Marco Polo, Thána was under an independent ruler.

It appears that the Solanki Bhíma, after the expedition of Mahomed of Ghazni to Somnath, and his invasion and capture of Anhiliváda in 1026 A. D., fled from his country and to make up for the loss in the north marched with his colony from Patán into the south, and settled at Máhim. The reason the Prabhús call themselves Pathare or Pathâne is that they derive their origin from the Gujarát Patán, and not from the Dekkan Paithán.

Mr. Murphy observes that the first remarkable characteristic which forms the bond of connection between these five races is the dialect I have noticed above. At present the pure Maráthi is in more vogue

in this island; but the *Kolibasha*, or 'Konkani in the North dialect,' as it was called by the Portuguese, is still spoken by the Kôlis, whether Hindus or Christians. From this circumstance it may be inferred that this race was the first, and for a long time the most numerous on the island. The other races were subsequent settlers, who, by a continued residence amongst the former, have acquired a considerable portion of their vocabulary, although, by the later influx of the Dekkani immigrants, it has now been raised to the standard of the pure Maráthi. This evolutionary movement has been accelerated within the last fifty years by the establishment of schools and colleges.

Having thus briefly alluded to the linguistic character of the primitive dialect of Bombay, without entering into philological analysis, or considerations which would needlessly carry me far beyond the limits of this monograph, I propose to investigate a little more closely the ethnology of the island.

To begin with the Kôlis. There is already a vast literature of this interesting race. They are Dravidian in origin, and include a large number of tribes scattered along the Vindhya plateau, Gujarát, Konkan, &c. In Bombay there are three or four of these tribes, the most influential being the Dungari Kôlis, so-called from the hill to the south of Mazagon. They are fishermen and seamen, some of considerable wealth for their social position. They wear an iron knife, manufactured by themselves, round their necks, which is said to be a distinctive emblem of their tribe. (*See* Plate II., No. 7.)

With regard to the origin of the name, there are about half a dozen versions. Some derive it from the Sanskrit *Kola*, 'a hog,' a term of contempt, applied by the Aryans to the aborigines. Others say that it means 'pig-killer.' Some derive it from the Mundar *Horo* or *Koro*, which simply means 'man,' while others connect it with *Kol*, 'a boat,' seafaring being their principal occupation. Again, it is said that Kôli means 'clansman,' as he derives his name from *Kul* 'a clan,' just as Kunbi derives his from *Kutumb*, 'a family,' and hence he is 'the family man.'

The most important part of the Kôli is his religious beliefs, which may be summed up under the convenient modern term of animism, or a modified form of animistic polydemonism. His theory of disease is demoniacal possession, which, as belonging to the lower culture, is a perfectly rational theory to account for certain pathological facts. "For," as an American writer says, "the Universe is a unit, and a marvellous and purposed correspondence runs through its successive

planes of beings, from the lowest to the highest. To the human mind, in the ascent of its activities, each lower plane becomes an object-lesson, and furnishes symbols and the language by which to apprehend what lies beyond."

The Kôli, whenever there is a tribal feast, offers a fowl to the spirits of the dead. He worships demons and spirits (*bhút, pret*), whom he fears, as well as the Kuladevas and Grámadevas or the local deities. Some of these are non-Aryan, being gradually admitted into the Bráhmanic pantheon.

The Kôlis belong, as stated before, to the Dravidian or Negrito type. The form of the head usually inclines to be dolicocephalic, but the nose is thick and broad, and the formula expressing its proportionate dimensions is higher than in any known race, except the Negro. His nasal index, which is the best test of race distinction, (cf. my Memoir on the *Nasal Index in Biological Anthropology* in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., p. 530, *et seq.*) gives the average 82·0, while that of the Bráhman is 70·4.

The Kôlis have some strange mythological traditions of their origin. They derive their descent from Kola, one of the four brothers, who trace their ancestors to Yayáti, the fifth King of the Lunar race. This is evidently a Bráhmanic story of their pedigree. But the Munda Myth, which identifies the Kôlis with the kindred Dravidian races, is probably much closer to the truth, for they, like the other Dravides, now divide themselves into a number of endogamous septs, after having shed off the elaborate system of totemistic septs.

Thus the Kôlis, numbering ten thousand according to the latest statistics of the island, are, to borrow a simile from Bishop Bonnelli's *Roma e l'Italia*, &c., the nucleus, round which the whole Bombay cosmopolitan population of nearly a million of permanent, fluctuating, and floating inhabitants has gathered. As in astronomy, the cosmic matter, scattered through the space, forms nuclei which grow by attraction into large fixed stars, colossal planets, and satellites, governed by their own laws, so in sociology and in the moral world human nuclei draw to themselves other aggregates of beings from affinity and other conditions resulting in the formation of a town or a nation.

Like the Kôlis, the Prabhús, whose name is said to be connected with the Sanskrit प्रभु (*prabhu*) 'lord,' which in Marathi is परभु (*parabhú*), have also their legendary tales, connecting them with the kings of the Solar race. The *Sahyádri Khánda of the Skanda*

Purâna has two chapters devoted to the genealogy of this caste there called Patán 'Prabhus.' (See my Edition of 1877, pp. 120-127.) Another chapter (pp. 135-136) is devoted to their religious belief. The legend of their being degraded from the position of royalty by the sage Brighu to that of scribes, or as the Purána has it लिपीका जीवन (*lipiká jivána*), is given at length. The appeal of the king to the sage saying, "it is improper to cut down a tree, even if poisonous, after having caused it to grow," is evidently borrowed from the Kumára-Sambava of Kálidása. The whole myth has no historical value whatsoever for our purpose. The Prabhús are mentioned by the early Portuguese writers. They were useful to them in the administration of their Bassein settlement, including Bombay, for nearly two hundred years. After their own conversion, they helped the missionaries to spread Christianity amongst the natives. While treating of the Portuguese period, I shall return to them, and their conversion. Important documents have lately been published relating to the Hindus being persecuted by the Inquisition for relapsing into their former faith, or for performing their religious ceremonies in public.

The next class was that of Bhandáris or palm-juice drawers. Their name is derived from the Sanskrit *mandhárak*, 'a distiller.' The Bhangúlis, so-called for blowing a trumpet, are said to owe their designation to that musical instrument. The Bhandáris are divided into several classes, one of them being Kirpáls, who were once Christians. They are so called on account of their having been received back into the Hindu religion, from *Kriapál*, meaning allowed to make use of Hindu rites. They used to form in the early days of the British rule a sort of honorary guard or heralds to the Governors, carrying their standards; while the Bhangúlis used to blow a species of long trumpets before the High Sheriff, on the opening of the Quarter Sessions. A more detailed account of the mythological origin of the Bhandáris and Bhangúlis will be found in my "History of Chaul and Bassein," pp. 170, 171.

The Palshis are the priests of the Prabhús, said to have come with Bhíma, the founder of the Máhim dynasty, who, like the priests of the temple of Esculapius, practised medicine and astrology, besides performing the religious ceremonies and rites of their sect.

The other class of the early settlers of Bombay are the Páchkalshis, who also came along with Bhíma from Gujarát. They are Sutars, Vadvals and Malis, or carpenters, gardners and husbandmen, in

general. They have their myths as well, deriving their descent from the sun-god, Surya-Náráyen.

It is mentioned above that on the arrival of Bhíma in Bombay, with his colony of the Patáne Prabhús, Palshis, Páchkalshis, and Bhandáris, he found there only two temples, Sri Wálkeśvar and Mumbadevi. On the Portuguese taking possession of Bombay, they found the Wálkeśvar temple in ruins, which were even then magnificent As late as 1672, when Dr. John Fryer visited Bombay, he referred to them thus:—"On the other side of the great inlet, to the sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky, woody mountain, yet sends forth grass. Atop of all is a Parsi tomb lately reared; on its declivity towards the sea, the remains of a stupendous Pagod, near a tank of fresh water, which the Malabars visited it mostly for." See "A New Account," &c., Lond., 1698, pp. 67-68.

I have already briefly described Mumbadevi, given the legends connected with its foundation, and explained the derivation of the name Bombay from it, in the "Words and Places in and about Bombay" in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1874, vol. iii., pp. 248 *et seq.* Mumbadevi is, next to Wálkeśvar, the most ancient temple of the aborigines, which the Portuguese left untouched. On the cession of the island to the British in 1661, as a portion of the dowry of the Infanta Catharina of Bragança, married to Charles II. of England, the temple was said to have been standing on the Esplanade in its original glory, unprofaned by the hands either of Mahomedan or Christian iconoclasts.

That the name of Bombay is derived from that of the goddess worshipped in this temple is a fact now generally admitted. It is believed that Duarte Barbosa was the first European writer to refer to this island in 1516, in the strange form of Tana Maiambu. This complex form is, indeed, found in Ramusio, and quoted by most of the modern authors; but the Portuguese edition has Benamajambu. Idrisi has Bana for Thána, and Barbosa's Bena seems to stand for Thána, while Mejambu is simply Máhim, in contradistinction to Khelve-Máhim. Even if mutilated, there is nothing to resemble Bombay in it.

But the earliest Portuguese writer to refer to Bombay was Gaspar Correa, under the name of Bombaim. He came to India in 1512, and began to write his *Lendas* when he was Private Secretary to Affonso d'Albuquerque. He refers to this island seven times in his work, to which I shall refer again when treating of the Portuguese

period. The next writer to refer to Bombay is D. João de Castro who also calls it Bombaim in his *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India; Desde Goa até Diu*, written in 1538-39. Then Simão Botelho, in his *Tombo*, written in 1554, alludes often not only to Bombay in the form of Bombaym and Monbaym, but also to Maym, Mazaguão, and Valequecer, at each of which places there was a *mandovim* or custom-house.

João de Barros does not refer to Bombay at all, but only to *Maim*; while Diogo do Couto mentions *Bombaim* or its river in connection with the defeat of the Cambay fleet by Lopo Vaz de Sampaio.

None of these eminent Portuguese writers ever attempted to attach any meaning to the name of Bombay. It was reserved for the inventive genius of Dr. John Fryer to discover that "*Bombaim* is the first that faces *Choul*, and ventures furthest out into the Sea, making the mouth of a spacious Bay, from whence it has its etymology; *Bombaim*, quasi *Boon Bay*." Elsewhere he attemptst to find out the meaning of *Salset*, which he guesses to be a granary, because it used to furnish the Portuguese with provisions of corn, and concludes thus:—"But whether this be certain or not, the reason of the denomination of *Bombaim* is convincing," p. 62. And there is no doubt that this conviction was communicated to many of his successors, ungrammatical and untrue though it be.

There are many such etymological gems in the *New Account*. Here is an example from this old British physician, in reference to the unhealthy climate of Bombay: "I rather impute it to the situation, which causes . . . . a patridness in the air . . . . . whereby what is eaten is undigested . . . . Among the worst of these, *Fool-Rack* (Brandy made of Blubber or *Carvil*, by the *Portugals*), because it swims always in a Blubber as if nothing else were in it; but touch it, and stings like Nettles; the latter, because sailing on the Waves, it bears up like the *Portugal Carvil*: it is, being taken, a gelly, and distilled causes those that take it to be fools)." pp. 68, 69. It is, indeed, hard to conceive how brandy could be made of the *blubber*, that sailed like the *Portugal Carvil*, and, when distilled, caused those who took it to be fools. The fact is that the early European residents of Bombay ascribed a good deal of their illnesses to two indigenous articles of food, which the Portuguese called *Urraca*,[1] a sort of spirituous liquor, distilled

[1] The Portuguese *urraca* is originally an Asiatic term, described as a sort of wine in India. It is derived from two Marathi words फुल (*phúl*) 'a flower,' that is from the tree *Bassia latifolia*, and राख (*rákh*) 'essence,' such as the spirit distilled from the mowra flowers. *Rákh* also means ashes.

from palm-juice, now called *arrack*, and *caril*, the juice of tamarind and other spices eaten with boiled rice, and now called *curry*. Dr. Fryer having converted the Portuguese words urraca into Fool-Rack, and caril into Carvil, which sounds like Carvel or Caravel, the Portuguese *Caravela*, a kind of ship, he invented the whole story of a sailing blubber, which distils brandy, and the latter when taken makes fools! This may have been pleasant table talk in the days of Dr. Fryer in Bombay, but it is not history, for it is untrue. One cannot even say of it—*Si non è vero, è ben trovato.*

But Dr. Fryer is not the only man endowed with the excessive faculty of invention. There is in the world a class of men, whose tendency seems to lie in the discovery everywhere of etymologies of names, which are foreign to them. Thus Ritter, in his *Erdkunde*, I., 29, believes Sálsette to be derived from *Sal* 'salt,' because there are salt-pans in that island, although, as I have already explained in my 'History of Chaul and Bassein,' p. 188, Sálsette is derived from the Sanskrit *Shatshâshti* or sixty-six, that being the number of the villages the island consists of.

There are two traditions connected with the foundation of the Mumbadevi temple. The first tells us that more than five hundred years ago a Kôli fisherman, by name Munga, erected a temple on the Esplanade and called it Mungachi Amba, which was contracted into *devi* Mumbai or Mumbai. It is not rare among the Hindus to prefix the names of individuals to those of the gods. Thus Dhakji Dadáji built a temple at Mahálakshmi and the image of the god consecrated there was called Dhakleśvar. Then in the same temple there is an image of the goddess Rameśvari, in honour of Ramabai, wife of the founder of the temple, as there is of Mayureśvar, named after his son Moreśvar. Mankoji, a Prabhú, built a temple at Parel, and the god worshipped there is called Mankeśvar, just as Bholeśvar is named after its founder Bholanath, and Jogai from Jogachi Amba.

The second tradition is connected with the giant Mumbáraka. There is a *mahátmya* which relates how this giant harassed the worshippers, how he was punished by the goddess, to whom he prayed, after granting him pardon, to name the temple in their joint names. This evil genius of Bombay is supposed to be the Pathán king of Delhi Mubáraka, who persecuted the Hindus during his excursions in this part of India. See the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., pp. 248 *et seq.*

If this myth is based on the enmity borne by this Mahomedan prince to the aborigines of the island, it indicates that the poor Kôli fisher-

man, with all his primitive simplicity, is not entirely devoid of a certain amount of grim humour. He must have learnt that the best weapon to vanquish a powerful foe of his religion was to treat him with a sneer or a sarcasm, or, as Victor Hugo said, "*L' épigramme valait un poignard.*" To ridicule him, handing down his name to posterity in the garb of a demon was the noblest of revenges. This *bizarre* method of dealing with the enemies of one's sacred creed might have been recommended with profit to the Mahomedans, and even to the Huguenots and Papists, who had recourse to much more violent, although less efficacious, means for convincing one against his will.

The original temple was situated near the Fánsi Talão or Gibbet Pond on the Esplanade, just where the Victoria Station now is. In 1737, as some say, or in 1766, according to others, it was removed to the present site near the Payadhûni, a shallow, where wayfarers, after fording the marshy creek or khádi (which word still remains in the name of the district called Umarkhádi that once separated the Bombay island from the other islets of that group, used to wash the mud from their feet before entering the town. A notable Maráthi goldsmith, by name Pandu, or Pandurang, sixth in ascent from the present generation, built the temple and looked to its management, which has from that time continued in his much decayed family. Thus, although the goddess Mumba is claimed by the Kôlis as their own goddess from time immemorial, the management or organization of the temple of Mumbadevi is in the hands of the representatives of a goldsmith Pandurang Sivaji. The shrine was removed and built by the said goldsmith on the present site by orders of the Government, which purchased the old site on the Esplanade for the purposes of fortifications and defence of the city. The tank of Mumbadevi is a later construction, said to have been built at the expense of a Vâniâ lady, Putâlibai, in 1830. When the old temple was removed, the Gibbet near the tank on the Esplanade was continued in use until 1805. Then it was carried to the present locality, close to the Common Jail at Umarkhádí, from where I hope it will be soon abolished.

Although from its prominence and antiquity, the Mumbadevi Temple may be considered the Hindu Cathedral of Bombay, it is without any architectural grace. Its interior, almost enclosed by a wall all round, has nothing magnificent or imposing about it. It is not even one large nave, but a range of fourteen chapels, each chapel containing the image of a god with all his religious paraphernalia. These chapels are situated on one side of the tank, while on the

opposite side is a row of chambers intended for the ministers or officiating priests.

The first chapel or sanctuary to the south, or to the left as you enter from the Marwari Bazar, is dedicated to Ganpati, who is worshipped as the 'Lord of Hosts,' 'the God of Good Beginnings,' and 'the Destroyer of all Evil.' His stone image is about three feet high, thickly covered over with *shendur* or red-lead, standing upon a *sivhásan* or pedestal. By the side of Ganpati's image are those of Maruti or Hanuman and of Kalbhairav, each about a foot high.

The next chapel, to the north of Ganpati's, is allotted to Maruti exclusively, where his figure is also coated with the usual red paint. His face is covered with an embossed silver-mask, while his head is crowned with a *mugat* or tiara. His whole presence and attitude are eminently martial, as befits his position as a general in Rama's army and in the Hindu pantheon.

The next shrine is that of Siva with his emblem, the Linga. In its corridor there is his sacred bull, the Nándí. Both the Nándí and the Linga are covered with brass-plates. Then comes the shrine devoted to Indrayani, dressed as a Maratha woman, and close to her image is the picture of the chaste Becharji, the Lucretia of the Hindus, held in high veneration as the symbol of fidelity to the purity of caste and the sacredness of Hinduism. (See Ras Mala, I.)

Then comes the chapel of the patron saint, Mumba, which has in front two *dipmals* or light pillars, the pavement being of white and black marble. There is a brass tiger in the corridor, and the local importance and sanctity of the goddess may be gauged by the crowds of worshippers of all classes, the aboriginal Kólis and Kunbis predominating, assembled any hour of the day.

Then follow other chapels of more or less renown, with a score of bells, which, like the *kolokols* of Moscow, sound pleasant and harmonious to the ears of the worshippers. Though unpleasant to us, to the Hindu ears they are *des sons plus doux que le chant des sirens* . . . These chapels are of Murlidhar, Jaganath, Narsoba, Ballaji, &c. But let us hasten to the other famous temples of Bombay.

Next in importance to Mumbadevi in age and interest is the famous temple of Prabhadevi or Prabhavati, the family goddess of the Patáne Prabhús, who may be likened to the Normans of William the Conqueror. They came from Patán in Gujarát with their leader, Bhímadeva, as said above, to the conquest of Bombay, and helped him to found the capital of Mahikavati, modern Máhim,

bringing with them a new polity, much bureaucratic skill and some culture, thereto unknown amongst the primitive settlers of the island. This temple, which, although dedicated to one goddess, has several images—for, like the ancient Egyptians, the Hindus seem to have been always in the habit of combining the shrines of several deities in the same enclosure—is situated at Lower Máhim, a couple of miles to the north-west of the Railway Station. The original building was erected some centuries ago at a place called Kotwady, where the remains of an ancient Fort are still visible, and was destroyed by the Portuguese. Mr. Raghunatji (a Parbhu himself) says that "about A. D. 1519, hearing that the *Yavans* or Portuguese were about to destroy the image and demolish her temple, the Prabhús, at the dead of night, threw the image into a *pokharni* or step-well, close to the present temple. Next morning the *Yavans* came, pulled down the temple and razed it to the ground. After Prabhadevi had lain more than 200 years in the well, in 1739, after the fall of Bassein, the triumph of the Maráthas stirred the spirit within the goddess or within her worshippers, and she was brought to the surface. The Prabhú owner of the palm-garden, at the bottom of whose well the statue lay buried, saw Prabhadevi in a dream and received her orders to take her out from her watery hiding place, and restore her to her temple. The Prabhú told his caste-fellows what he had dreamt. They emptied the well, found the image, and built a temple in the goddess's honour." A slab of stone, about a square foot in size, on the south wall of the temple, with an inscription in *Balbodh* characters, states that Shrí Mata Prabhavati's temple was built by the whole Patáne Prabhú caste, *Vaishakh Sud* 11, *Samvat* 1771 *Vikram*. This is an inscription in Devanágari characters and Maráthi language. This building consists of a *Sabhamandap* or hall, with a large *pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) in front, and six *dipmals* or light pillars. Besides the image of Prabhadevi, there are the images of *Shitaladevi* or small-pox goddess, *Khokala* or cough goddess, and some others in niches made in the wall of the chief shrine. There are altogether three chambers in the temple, and at the door of each of them a brass bell hangs for the worshippers to ring and drive away the evil spirit. The central figure is Prabhadevi, who is represented as a handsome young woman, three feet high, cut in *Kurvandi* or red sandstone. She has four arms, the lower right hand holding a rosary of the Rudraksha beads, the upper a lotus-flower, while the left lower points to the earth and the upper

is raised as if in the act of blessing. If she had only two instead of four arms, she would certainly make a charming Hindu Madonna. Thus, after suffering meekly for nearly 200 years from unprovoked aggression, the image of Prabhadevi was re-established. It is idle to destroy symbols, while ideas remain the same.

Having thus briefly described the two early temples of Bombay and the later temple of the Prabhú colony, introduced into Bombay by Bhíma, I shall now pass on to an inedited copper-plate of Bhíma himself, the conqueror and king of Máhim. It is a document of great interest, and to me personally a precious relic from the feeling of regard I have always entertained for the memory of two Bráhman *savants* of Bombay connected with it, and to whom we are indebted for very valuable contributions to our knowledge of the archæology of Western India—Dr. Bhaú Daji and my late friend the Pandit Bhagwánlál Indraji. As the copies of the copper-plate, their transcription and translation speak for themselves, I shall simply offer them here, as follows :—

Transcript.

Plate I.

ॐ विक्रमसम्वत् १०८६ वैशाख शुदि १५ अद्ये
ह श्रीमदणहिलपाटके समस्तराजवलिवि
राजित-महाराजाधिराजश्रीभीमदेवः स्वभु
ज्यमान-वर्द्धिविषयांतःपातिमुंडकग्रामे स
मस्तजनपदान्बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
अद्य वैशाखी पर्वणि उदीच ब्राह्मण वलभद्र

Plate II.

सुताय वासुदेवाय ग्रामस्योत्तरस्यां दि
शि मुंडकग्रामेऽत्रैव भूमेर्हलवाहाएका [दश]
शासननोदकपूर्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्ता इउं.
लिखितमिदं कायस्थकांचनसुतवटेश्वरेण
दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहिकश्रीचंडशर्म्मा
इउं श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

Translation.

On the bright 15th of Vaiśâkha, Vikrama Era 1086 (1030 A. D.), here in Aṇahilapâṭaka (Anahilswâda), the illustrious King Bhíma, with all royal titles, great king of kings, declares to all the inhabitants of the village of Muṇḍaka, in the district of Vardhi, in his dominions :— Be it known to you that to-day being the auspicious day of Vaiśâkha we have granted a piece of land that can be tilled by eleven ploughs, situated to the north of the village of Muṇḍaka, to Vâsudeva,

son of Balabhadra, an Udîcha Brâhmana, with a grant and libations of water. Amen! This (grant) was written by Vateśwara, son of Kâñchana, a Kâyastha. The *dûtaka* of this grant is the illustrious Chandaśarman, the great Minister of War and Peace. Amen. *

ŚRÎ BHÎMADEVA.

This was the last contribution of the learned Pandit to Indian archæology. It was written in April 1888, and he died soon after. His loss was lamented as of a man who had succeeded so well in inspiring all whom he met with both esteem and affection.

It is a trite saying that the characteristic of the Hindu life is intense religiousness. In Bombay the main feature of the pious Hindu's placid existence is the round of visits he has to pay daily to his gods in the various shrines which are studded all over the circumscribed area of the island. If the Hindu temples, shrines, places of worship and religious institutions of all kinds which abound in this city were summed up, they would certainly exceed the proverbial number, three hundred, of the churches in Rome. Although there is no religious building among them comparable at all in beauty or architectural excellence to the poorest church in Rome, still, in the number of ecclesiastical buildings, Bombay far surpasses the eternal city. If to these Hindu temples, both Brahmanic and Jain, the large number of *masjids* or mosques, and the sanctuaries of the *Pirs* or Mahomedan saints, as well as the *agiaris* and *atáshbehrams* or fire-temples of the Parsis, the synagogues of the Jews, and the churches and chapels of the Christians of all denominations be added, there would hardly be found a city in the world so replete with religious buildings as Bombay, although most of them are small and mean externally, and dim and gloomy inside. The Orientals are, as a rule, utterly regardless of air and light in their dwellings, the genial climate being, perhaps, the cause. The whole of the day, and in summer even the nights, they spend out of doors. The same rule is applied to their religious temples. Almost all these temples seem to have been built in obedience to the well-known æsthetic canon of *Ars est celare artem*; for, with the exception of the black stone daubed with oil and vermilion, or litharge, which dazzles the sight, and the deafening sounds of bells, which stun the head, the sculptures, paintings, scenic effects and mechanical appliances are all completely hidden in Nature's works.

* See the accompanying facsimile of the two copper-plates.

Bombay cannot yet pretend to possess the classic associations which gather round ancient cities. Even in India, if age be a term of comparison, Bombay has evidently the disadvantage of youth. Both life and thought in comparatively new cities are generally too complex to be embodied in formula. But, though Bombay is modern, it has yet much to teach. George Lewis says that the boast of one age may become the infamy of another. The Portuguese in their time, as one can easily infer from *the Oriente Conquistado* and other such works, were proud of having pulled down the temple of Prabhavati and others, and boasted of the measure of their own infallible conscience not being that of the natives, a measure that unfortunately contained the germ of all intolerance. That was, indeed, the dominant note of the tragic policy inaugurated by the violent and fanatic decrees of that pious but bigoted monarch D. João III., of which I shall have to speak at length when treating of the Portuguese period. That policy made him no doubt a favourite of the Vatican, and supplied him with the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. But he was then unconsciously hastening the decline of his country, being himself the victim of an auto-suggestion or of infatuation. There are many such instances on record in the domain of history. But the inherent polarity of human affairs does at last assert itself in all times, and all past glories have their attendant shadows.

The founders of the Hindu temples in Bombay were after all civilised men. They were ready to offer up upon the altar of their faith any sacrifice in order to preserve it from profanation at the hands of either Mahomedans or Christians. They had in fact as much right to it and to the temples devoted to the worship of their gods, according to the stage of their culture, as their persecutors, who with careless courage forced them to abjure the faith of their fathers for their own.

The worship of the aboriginal tribes has yet in India a certain vitality of its own. And what in former times could not be suppressed by the invading Bráhman or Aryan, has been incorporated, along with their ceremonies and festivals, into the Brahmanic code and pantheon. The aborigines, on their side, from constant contact with the Aryans, whose emigration to the south of India is on historical grounds fixed at 350 B. C., gave up many of their rude but once cherished habits and adopted a milder and more civilised life. The Bráhmans, moreover, did not come down to South India as conquerors, but as instructors and as missionaries. Like Agastya, they were sages and demi-gods, not military heroes. The aborigines, on their part, after embracing

the Brahmanic doctrines, helped with the proverbial zeal of neophytes these old missionaries to spread their doctrine. Enjoying that precious gift—the freedom of conscience, and the security of their *lares et penates*, some of the aborigines, who were descendants from a former wave of the Turanian race, and were celebrated as temple builders, were too glad to erect temples to worship the saints of the Bhámans.

The Hindu life, whether aboriginal or Aryan, is connected with sacred memories, venerated associations, and sweet and tender experiences. I have lived for many years in close contact with the Hindus as a physician, and cannot help bearing this testimony to the bright side of their life. The foreigner may disregard or even oppress them; but when the pressure is removed they are sure to recover their elasticity of mind and to long for their own system, retaining whatever good may have come from outside.

While the Portuguese were masters of this group of islands, the baptism of orphans was compulsory, in spite of the opposition of their relatives, the result being the abandonment of their territory and the cessation of their trade. If one breaks the laws of harmony he must fall into the chaos thus produced. The laws of life are their own avengers. Tyranny is always false because it relies on one view alone, while truth consists in the synthesis of two views rather than in the rejection of either.

But to return to the Hindu temples. It has already been mentioned that the religion of the Bombay Kôli is based on an animistic interpretation of the phenomena of nature. Belonging to a lower state of culture it satisfies perfectly well both his mind and his conscience, his reason and his sentiment. The doctrine of disease spirits and oracle spirits is entirely consistent with the limits of primitive civilisation. These remarks may seem out of place, but a historian has also to be a philosopher. In tracing the operation of general causes, he should not neglect to enquire into the origin of grotesque mythologies where valuable hints in moral notions, even among the Kôlis, may be found. To force them to mount to the top of the spiritual ladder without ascending the intermediate steps is to court failure. One must hasten slowly—*Festina lente.*

The deities worshipped in Bombay by the Hindus are generally of three kinds, with their numerous temples scattered all over the sixteen miles square which constitute the whole area of this little island. These three groups of gods are the Grihadevatás or house gods, the Grámadevatás or village gods, and the Sthanadevatás or

local gods. Besides these, there is a certain class of *bhútas* or devils, who are required to be propitiated, if not worshipped, by the aboriginal tribes.

The Gṛihadevatás may again be subdivided into Ishtadevatás or chosen gods, and Kuladevatás or family gods. The former, who constitute a group of five, viz.:—Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Śiva, Deví and Súrya, are mostly represented by small stones gathered in sacred rivers, and worshipped by higher classes. The Kuladevatás, the majority of whom are goddesses, are worshipped by all, especially by the lower classes of the Hindus. The Grámadevatás, represented by rough stones painted with oil and red lead, whose largest number belongs to the fair sex, are guardians of villages, while the Kuladevatás are of families. These goddesses watch over the health and prosperity of the villagers, who resort to them—as in the case of the recent epidemic of the plague—when attacked by evil of any sort. The names of these village-gods are sacred, for *nomina sunt numina*, and never can one utter them in vain. They are Bhávani, Bhairav, Jogeshvari, Khandoba, Máruti, Adinath, etc.; while those of the goddesses are Káliká, Amba, Mahálaksmí, Mumba, Shittaladevi, Matrika, &c.

Two of the most ancient deities in Bombay, besides those whose temples have already been described, are Káliká and Grámadevi. The temple of the former is at Kalkadevi, and of the latter at Chowpati. The temples of the village-goddesses are generally built in the centre of the village, and in rare instances on its outskirts. Their priests, who are called Bhopis or Púajarís, are of the Gosavi or Jangam castes, and act as interpreters of the goddesses to the faithful. The fear of incurring the wrath of the village-goddess is so great among the simple folk that she is the best police agent in the village. She is both a terror to the malefactor and a friend and protector of "them that do well."

Like Mumbadevi, Kalkadevi has her own *Máhátmya*. This goddess is the Juno of the Hindus. She is the guardian deity of women, although her prowesses are generally masculine. She is said to have destroyed a powerful Ásura, or demon, called Raktavija, and then become so overcome with joy at her victory that she began to dance, and the earth shook to its poles.

The Adhyátma Rámáyana gives a new impersonation or *avatar* of Káli. It relates that while Ráma, after the defeat of Rávana, was returning home with his faithful spouse, Sítá, he told her how he had

vanquished this monster with ten heads (*dashanan*). Sítá observed that this was but a common feat, and said she would better appreciate his valour if he could kill one with a thousand heads. Ráma tried at once to kill a Rávana with a thousand heads, but failed in the attempt. Sítá, then, to avoid disgrace to her husband, assumed the form of Kálí and destroyed the thousand-headed monster.

This legend goes on to narrate how this great triumph took place in *Pátála*, which is not the mythological abode of the wicked to the south of Ayodhyá (the centre of their ancient world, in opposition to Vaikuntha or Kailása, which is to the north of Ayodhyá), but an underground region in the city of Máhimapuri. This name is said to stand for Máhim, the whole legend being an allegory of the struggle between the Hindus and Mahomedans in that island. A temple was then raised to Kálí in Máhim, and in course of time transferred to Bombay, where its street is one of the most conspicuous in the whole native town. Sir William Jones, considers Kálí to be analogous to the Proserpine of the Greeks.

The present temple of Kalkadevi is said to have been rebuilt only lately, at the expense of Government, after the old one had been demolished in order to widen the road. Its management is invested in the caste of the Palshe Bráhmans. Kálí or Káliká is said to have been originally a goddess of the non-Aryan races. The Bráhmans, however, incorporated it into the Aryan pantheon, along with their other deities as a priestly expedient to induce the aborigines to embrace their religion.

One of the most popular gods in Bombay is Máruti. His principal virtue, for which the lower classes of the Hindus worship him, is that of bestowing sound health on his devotees, and preserving them from epidemic disease. He is an aboriginal deity, and his legends are extremely puerile, being well adapted to the untutored minds of his worshippers. One of them runs thus:—When he was born he saw the sun rising and thinking it to be a ripe fruit flew up to the sky and seized the sun's chariot. Indra growing angry and fearing that Máruti would swallow the sun smote him with his thunderbolt, and Máruti came down in contact with the earth. But at the same time Indra admiring his pluck, and at the request of his father Váyu or Márut, the analogue of the Roman Æolus, the king of the Winds, conferred on him the gift of *chiranjiva* or immortality.

Máruti is, moreover, a jealous god. Unlike his compeers he allows no other image in his shrines. The day devoted to his worship is

Saturday, or *dies Saturni*, owing to his Saturnine qualities, when oil and vermilion—ruby being the gem of his liking—are poured on his figure. He has a series of patronymics, among others that of Hanuman, the monkey general in Ráma's army for the invasion of the Dekkan. Hanuman is derived from *hanu*, 'the chin' from the scar received on the chin from Indra's blow with the consequent fall to the ground. His temples are innumerable; the principal ones being situated near the Crawford Market; Antoba's oart, near Lohar Chal; the Panchmukhi, or five-faced, near Bholeśvar; and one near the Jamma Musjid; besides those at Colaba, Mazagon, and Parel.

A peculiarity in Máruti's dress or rather undress worth noting is his absolute nakedness, except the unctuous red daubing. It is only in very rare instances that he condescends to wear, more to enhance than to cover his unaffected and æsthetic nudity, the classical लंगोटी (*laṅgoṭi*). It is a small strip of cloth, about two spans long by one broad, used to cover the private parts, by almost all the worshippers of Máruti. It is derived from the Sanskrit *liṅga* the penis, and *gupta* concealed, changed in course of time into *laṅgoṭi*. It simply means a concealer of the organ. There is also another meaning of 'linga.' It means a small smooth conical stone placed on a pedestal and worshipped as the representative symbol of Siva.

The Gamdevi temple is considered to be one of the oldest in Bombay. As its name indicates, it is dedicated to the village-goddess of that part of the island where it is situated. Gamdevi is derived from *gráma* in Sanskrit or *gáv* in Maráthi for a village, and *devi* 'a goddess.' The tradition connected with this goddess, whose temple is in the village to the south-east of Malabar Hill, is as follows:—The image was found among the rocks of that hill more than 200 years ago, and brought down to the village by a Prabhú, Bapáji Mahátre, who dreamt of its existence among the rocks in 1661, or Samvat 1718. Dreams seem, indeed, to be the usual means of communication between the gods and their devotees. In almost all hagiologies they are not an uncommon way of imparting spiritual information. Somehow Bapáji got this knowledge through a dream and communicated it to his friends, who assembled together and brought the image down to the village, while another Prabhú, Báláji Bhikáji, built the temple, which is still standing. It is a place resorted to not only by Prabhús but also by Vadváls and Sutárs. The goddess is also called Lilávati, 'a graceful woman,' one of the many epithets of Durgá.

Another very old temple is situated on the Sirí road. This

road is called *siri* from the Maráthi शिडी (*sidi*) 'a ladder' or 'a staircase,' from its steep or slanting position on the way from Chowpati to Malabar Hill. It is the oldest and shortest way of the pilgrims from Bombay to Wálkeśwar. This temple is said to have been built in the 8th century of our era by a Kumbhár, or potter, called Lakha, hence the goddess is named Lackadevi. This temple is now in ruin, the image having been placed in a niche on a garden wall just where the temple was once standing.

Not far from Gamdevi is situated another old temple at Girgaum. This designation is derived from गिरी (*giri*) a hill, and ग्राम (*grâma*), a village, from its situation at the base of Malabar Hill. Another derivation is from गीध (*gidh*) from the Sanskrit गृध्र (*gridhra*) 'a vulture' and village, or vulture village, from the presence of vultures at the Towers of Silence to the north-west of Girgaum. But this is evidently a later derivation, subsequent to the advent of the Parsis in Bombay. The former, that of the mountainous village, seems to be the true one.

An important temple, much frequented by the Hindus of all classes, and also of some architectural pretentions, is called Mahálaksmí. It is situated on the rocky ground to the west of Breach Candy. The tradition connected with its foundation is as follows :—When the Mahomedans first set their feet on the island of Bombay, three goddesses, who from time immemorial had their seat at Varlí, jumped into the sea to avoid profanation. After the cession of the island to the British, the latter tried from 1680 to join Bombay with Varlí by means of a dike or embankment, but found the task rather hard. Fortunately Rámjí Sivají dreamt one night that the three goddesses, *viz.*, Mahálaksmí, Mahákálí, and Mahásarasvatí, who were lying at the bottom of the Ksheraságara, which is said to be the mythological name of the Varlí creek, were anxious to come to the dry land in which case the embankment would be a success. Rámjí cast a net, caught the goddesses in it, and brought them over to the rock, and then communicated the great event to the authorities, who immediately presented the ground to Mahálaksmí and other goddesses, and the island of Varlí and Bombay were soon joined.

The present temple is said to have been built in 1775, the embankment having been completed during the governorship of William Hornby, which lasted from 1771 to 1784. Mahálaksmí means great prosperity, from *mahá* 'great' and *lakshmí* 'prosperity.' The *Monthly Miscellany of Western India*, 1850, p. 60, has

the following curious reference to Mahálaksmí :—'Between the Muslim hermitage which beetles over the southern extremity of Love Grove Hill, and the lofty, myriad pinnacled Hindu fane (dedicated to Maha Laxmi, the Great goddess, or Juno of their mythos) situated at Breach Candy, extends a wide breach of land on which the sea of yore played with greater wantonness than artificial checks will now permit. The sea swept there; swept with all the fury and pleasure of an Arabian colt, over the Byculla flats, across the whole of what we call Bellasis road, thence to Grant Road, invading Khetwadi, swept past through Duncan Road, onward through the Bhendi bazaar, and quite at that spot where a slight elevation occurs upon that road, in the vicinity of the great metal market of the Presidency, and where a heavy carriage's roll announces the hollow beneath—to that identical spot known as the *Pyadhoni* or foot-wash—marched the sea where we have introduced it. Times have altered since; then, the stream was supplied throughout the year, lazily in the fair season, but its rapidity and strength in the south-west Monsoon led the Government to throw a bridge over, and substantial dwellings, fanes, and other erections have sprung around: but the name of that spot identifies an old custom. In the languid yet clear current which flowed there, particularly during the solstitial heats, did the inhabitants more northward, especially those from Parel and Máhim, wash their feet before they proceeded on their onward journey, hence the *Pyadhoni* or foot-wash. And if tradition be at all consistent with truth, when carriages (excepting the Indian vehicle) were unknown, and Bombay Governors were wont to garb themselves in Salsetni starched caps and to trust more frequently to their feet, they too, it is said, were accustomed to unhose themselves and with shoes and stockings in hand march across, avail of the foot-wash, rehose themselves and proceed on their jaunt."

The bridge over the "wide breach of land" is now called Breach Candy. It is also called "Vellard," a corruption of the Portuguese *Vallado*, which means a fence or hedge, properly a mud-wall with a fence of wood upon it. Of Breach Candy, the *Materials*, etc., Vol. III., p. 651, says:—"Breach Candy seems to mean the beach at the mouth of the hollow or pass, that is the hollow between Kambála ridge on the north and Malabár ridge on the south. The use of breach for the wave-breaking or surf, the modern beach, is common among sixteenth and seventeenth century writers. . . . . By the middle of the eighteenth century the word Breach seems in Bombay

to have been locally applied to the break or gap in the rocks of the western shore through which the sea flooded the flats. So Grose (1750) (Voyage, I. 52) writes :—The causeway at the Breach where the sea had so gained on the land as nearly to divide the island ; and a Military Report of 1771 (Pol. Diary 14 of 1873, 40) notes that from Varli to the Breach the sea is surrounded with sharp rocks. One example of the old spelling Candy for Khind or pass is enough ; Sir James Mackintosh (1804 : Life, I. 276) writes Ganesh Candy for Ganesh Khind. The absence of either a tower or a creek at Breach Candy is against Dr. Murray Mitchell's Buraj-Khádi the Creek Tower (compare Hobson-Jobson, 767)."

At Varli there are some old shrines, the most conspicuous among them being that of Shambu Mahdev at the lower pakhadi. The name Varlí has three derivations, one from the Maráthi वड (*vad*), the banian tree or *ficus indica*, on account of a forest of this tree, once abundant on that island, with the terminative of *ali*, which means an alley or a village. Thus, *vad* and *ali* make together a banian-tree village, or Vadali shortened into Varlí. The second is connected with the word *var*, which means a boon or a blessing, and Varlí is said to have received some sort of boon from the goddess Mahálaksmí. The third is the Maráthi वरील (varíl), which means upper, in allusion to the northern situation of the island of Varlí in relation to that of Bombay.

The village of Parel, which derives its name from the vegetable kingdom, just as Varlí does, from *paral* (*Bignonia suaveolens*), has also some interesting temples of its own. The most renowned of all is that of Mankeśvar, said to have been founded by a Prabhú named Mankoji. Sewrí has a shrine dedicated to Siva. In fact, its name is traced to Siva, as well as to Sivadi, 'a little fort of Siva,' the remains of which are still visible. There are, besides, some other petty sanctuaries there, which I need not enumerate, as they are of little historical interest.

"Parel," says a writer, "a native designation without any defined meaning, or *Sans Pareil*, as some Europeans would manipulate it, the country retreat of the early, and the chief seat of the present, Governors, has been made to be built in the opening of this century by a careless writer." *The Monthly Miscellany of Western India*, 1850, p. 78. But Parel has a meaning, as everything else. *Sans Pareil* or *Non Pareil*, the peerless, is supposed to have been suggested by Niebuhr in 1763-64 (see Voyage II., 12), saying that in the whole of India there is nothing equal, *point de pareille*, to the

splendid dining and ball rooms at the Parel Government House. (Cf. Hobson-Jobson, p. 842.) But Parel, as said above, is derived from the tree *paral* or *padel* (*Bignonia suaveolens* or *Heterophragma chelonoides*) "the tree trumpet flower." *Materials*, etc., Vol. III., p. 595, has the following:—"In support of this derivation Mr. Cumine notices that Parel is the centre of a group of tree names. East lies Vadála, the Banian Grove, south Chinchpokli, the Tamarind Dell, west Mingut-Mandli, the Pricklypear Tract, and north Mádmala, the Cocoa-palm Orchard, now known as Máhim Woods. Beyond this group are Kambála Hill, apparently the grove of *kambal* or *kamal*, also called *shimti* Odina wodier; Byculla, Bháyakhala, the Cassia fistula Level, *bháya* being a local Kunbi form of *báwa*; Umbarkhádi, the Fig Tree Creek; Bábhula Tank, near the Jamsetji Hospital and Bábhalnáth on the east slope of Malabár Hill, called after the *babhul* or *Acacia arabica*; Táddev, the Brab God, west of Byculla, and Tádvádi the Brab Garden in west Mázgaon; Phanasvádi, the Jack Garden in Bhuleshavar; Bhendi Bazár from its row of *bhendis*, *Hibiscus populnea*, north of Paidhoni; Sáttád, the Seven Brabs, and Vadáchigádi, the Banyan Shoprow in the Old Town; Chinch Bandar, the Tamarind Landing below Nauroji Hill; and Âmliágal. In front of the Tamarind, the bullock driver's name for Elphinstone Circle, from the old tamarind at the north-east corner of the Cathedral close."

The village of Sion, which the early Portuguese more approximately to its origin wrote Siva, has some temples of its own, but requiring no special description. The name Sion is derived from the Maráthi शिव (*Siva*), a boundary or a limit, the village of Sion being the boundary between the island of Bombay and Sálsette.

The large village of Mazagon next claims our attention. The origin of its name is traced to three sources. One, and the most acceptable, is that of the Marathi compound word मच्छगाव (*machchhgáv*), the first word meaning fish, and the second village. Some learned pandits even carry it to the Sanskrit origin of मत्स्यग्राम (*matsyagráma*), which means the same thing. But this is too pedantic, for Mazagon does not seem to have ever had so noble and so classical an origin. Then some derive it from महिष (*mahish*) "a buffalo," making it "a buffalo village," while others, again, call it a central village in the island, just as the word माजघर (*mâzaghar*) means the central part of a house.

Mazagon has a score of temples, the most conspicuous being

that of Ghornpdev. It is also called by the Kôlis Khadákadev, which means "rock god." It is, in short, a huge linga or a large rock painted red with oil and vermilion, which seems to represent, among the Kôlis, the best covering for their "anointed."

Besides these a great many modern temples have been built all over Bombay and the adjacent islands since the cession of the island to the British. The twin islets at the entrance of Bombay Harbour to the southward, called Henery (*i.e., Vondari*) "mouse-like," and Kenery (*i. e., Khandari*), "sacred to Khandoba" are devotional places, especially amongst the Maráthas, since Siváji's admiral took possession of Kenery in 1679. *The Bombay Miscellany* has the following :— "Thither, however, more clear and defined are the tiny islands of Hunery and Kunery—desolate indeed now, but once the dens of piracy, established by the Sidis of Jinjira, subsequently acquired by the hardihood of that *rat*, as he was called by the Emperor Aurungzeb, the celebrated Sivaji ; and what ever they may now be, those little islands vomited their ocean-warriors in number and capacity to annoy the Government of Bombay, to harass the Company's fleet, and to defeat for a season the arms and the patience of Admiral Watson." p. 52. A vain attempt to dislodge him by the English, supported by the Sidi (Saed) of Jinjira, was followed by an attack on Siváji's Armada on the 18th of October 1679, by Captain Richard Keigwin, which succeeded. There is now a light-house at Kenery, built in 1867. It stands 153 feet above high water. It is a fixed white light visible for 19 miles in clear weather.

Apropos of the Bombay light-houses, the Colaba light-house was built over a Portuguese tower near the cemetery, in the early days of the British rule. The outer light-house indicates the fair way entrance. The inner light-house and a buoy mark the position of a sunk rock. These are the only early landmarks in the Bombay harbour to guide the mariner into port. The outer light vessel, built in 1872, carries a revolving red light, obtains its greatest brilliancy every twenty seconds, and is seen in fine weather from the distance of 18 miles. The Prongs light-house was completed in 1874. It is 136 feet above high water level. It flashes a white light every twenty seconds, and is visible in clear weather to a distance of 18 miles. The Sunk Rock, built in 1889, 64 feet above high water, has red and white lights occulting every five seconds, with eclipses of from one to two seconds, and is visible in clear weather at a distance of 14 miles.

The pagoda of Venkatesha, which is an epithet of Vishnu, in the

Fort, is also one of the old temples. It is situated in the northern part of the Fort, known as Bhatyáwáḍa. The temple is said to have been built by Rámáji Kámat in 1689. It belongs to the Sárasvat Bráhmans, who formerly used to reside within the Fort. I believe it is now resorted to mostly by the Vániás; while the Sárasvats have been congregated at Lowar Chal and elsewhere, outside the Fort.

Near Mumbadevi there is a temple called Kasárdevi, the patron saint of the Kasárs, or coppersmiths, who call themselves Chandravamsi Kshatriyas. In the same neighbourhood there are several Srávak temples or *dheras*, as they are called, dedicated to Krishṇa under the direct superintendence of their bishops or Mahárájas. Their style of architecture and the disposition of the rooms within are somewhat different from those of the other Hindu sects.

Besides the large number of shrines above described of the invocation of Márnti, in the island of Bombay, as a favourite saint of the lower classes of the Hindus, the Kamatis have seven of their own called *Raulas*, dedicated to him, who is believed to be the bestower of health and of long life. His images are generally made of black stone, painted red, as usual, assuming a dramatic posture, as if in the act of fighting against the host of Rávana.

One of the famous temples in the centre of the native town, to the west of Mumbadevi, is Bholeśvar. This is one of the epithets of Siva, Bhola meaning "simple," hence he is called "the lord of the simple." Others say that it was built by a rich Kôli by name Bhola, who, having no progeny nor relatives of his own, spent his large fortune in the building of this temple, which bears his name. Another tradition connects the temple with a Pardesi by name Bholanáth, who built it, whence the god is called by his name. Others say that the Pardesi was a mere porter of the temple.

There is in the vicinity of this temple a tank built by the Vániás. The image of Bholeśvar is but a linga, a smooth black stone with the corresponding yoni, a projection at the base like the mouth of a spoon. This linga is worshipped by the Hindus of all classes, while the ministry of the temple is confined to the Gujaráti Bráhmans alone. There are some other small temples ranged round the central one, where the Yogís, or ascetics, live in absolute idleness, at the expense of the simple-hearted devotees, who make large daily offerings to the temple of the "Lord of the Simple."

Of the many visitors who have left us their impressions of Bombay, there is hardly one, with the exception of the Abbé Cottineau de

Klognen, who has described the Hindu temples of the island. The Abbé, who visited the temples of Bholeśvar and Mumbadevi on the 19th of April 1828, describes them in his *Journal* as follows :—" Le capitaine Jarvis nous a fait conduire chez le Père Jerome à la grande église de *Portas-fora* ; et comme il y avait encore quelques heures avant le diné, je priais le Père Vicaire de me faire conduire dans les deux principales pagodes de gentils qui sont tout auprès et que l'on nomme *Bullasur Deva* et *Mumba Deva*. Je vais decrire *Mumba Deva* comme et la plus belle et la plus grande et parce qu'elles sont toutes deux sur le même plan.

" Cette pagode consiste dans un grande reservoir ou bassin d'eau de forme carrée occupant au moins un arpent et demie ; il est bordé d'un quai de tous les côtés avec des marches pour y descendre ; là les adorateurs des idoles viennent se baigner pour se purifier ; il y en avait un trésa grand nombre quand je suis entré : les angles sont ornés de pyramides et de cônes surmontés de fléches sculptés dans le gout indien : les côtés des quais opposés à l'eau sont bordés de bâtiments assez ordinaires avec des varandes ou portiques en avant et sont divisés en grand nombre de chapalles ou oratoires au fond de chacun des quels on apperçoit un idole ordinairement peint en rouge et d'une figure horrible à voir ; il y a quelques sculptures et ornemenes à l'entour et des lampes qui brulent continuellement ce qui cause une odeur d'hiule de coco vraiment insupportable : dans la varande sont suspendus une quantité de cloches et sonnettes dont quelques unes sonnent présque continuellement ; on y voit aussi des figures d'animaux et de monstres dont on ne laisse pas approcher, car l'ayant fait par megarde d'une de ces figures, je fus subitement effrayé par un cri horrible poussé par tous les idolatares qui étaient presents et je reculai bien vite ; ainsi je ne suis entré dans aucun de ces oratoires, mais il est facile d'en appercevoir tout l'interieur par les portes et fenêtres qui sont toujours ouvertes. Les murs de la varande sont couverts de petites peintures en rouge d'hommes, d'animaux et de monstres : les bancs et le pavé sont couverts d'hommes, les uns assis, les autres couchés, les autres debout ou se promenant ; en passant devant l'idole ils font un moment de prières à mains jointes mais debout : les vaches et les chiens circulent par tout en liberté et la plûpart des adorateurs se barbouillent avec le fumier des premiers de ces animaux : le long du bassin sont des penitents qui passent leur vie là sous des tentes ; c'est que j'ai vu celui dont j'avais entendu parler qui à force de tenir constam-

ment son bras gauche étendu, le conserve naturellement, ou plutôt forcément dans cette position; le sang ne circule prèsque plus, le bras paraît desseché et roide, les doigts de la main dont les ongles n'ont pas été coupés depuis nombre d'années ressemblent à des rubans pendant et dans la palme est un pot de fleur qui y est attaché par des ligatures, mais qui le penitent tient continuellement quoiqu'il sort présque toujours couché; il se leve sur son seant pour ceux qui veulent le voir et reçoit de l'argent; c'est un homme noir d'environ 60 ans, tout nud à l'exception du langouti et dont le visage est tout barbouillé de fumier et terre glaise: je n'ai pas pu me faire entendre de lui, ni comprendre ce que lui et ses voisins me disaient.

"*Ballasar Deva* est une autre pagode sur le même plan, mais beaucoup moins grande; il y en a beaucoup d'autres petites dans *Portas-fora* et dans tous les environs de Bombay, ou plutôt dans toute l'Inde." *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Vol. IV, pp. 247—49.

Another interesting temple is the Thakurdvár at Girgaum. It is said to have been built by a Hindu sage, named Atmaram Bawa, who was an ascetic, and died in 1836 at the ripe age of 90 in the odour of sanctity. He was a scholar, and wrote some beautiful verses in Prakrit in the Pada metre, which are now sung in chorus by his followers. One of the princes of Baroda, Sayaji, is said to have made him in 1818 the grant of a village, the income of which he used to spend in alms to the poor. His remains were buried in the temple, and the *samádhi* or tomb is now seen in front of its main door. The Hindus do not kiss, as the Catholics have done for centuries, wearing out with their lips the big toe of the right foot of St. Peter's bronze statue in the Basilica of his name; but they walk round the *samádhi*, whose pavement has been considerably hollowed out by human feet.

Thakurdvár is a generic name, as there are many other Thakurdvárs elsewhere. It means the door of an idol, from ठकुर (*thakur*), and द्वार (*dvár*) 'a door.' The only thing remarkable about this temple is the tower of black stone. The temple is dedicated to Ráma, whose life-size image, painted blue, is in a niche, while, that of his brother Lakshman, painted white, is by his side. Cremation which is a universal practice among the Hindus, is waived in favour of the rishis and swámis. The latter are buried and honoured with tombs, which become objects of veneration.

Rámavadi is a small shrine dedicated to Ráma. It is situated between Boleśvar and Kalkadevi. It is said to be a century and a half

old. Then comes Vitalvádi, which is situated in a narrow lane to the east of Kalkadevi. It is dedicated to Vitoba, and has eight *dipmáls* or light bearing pillars, in front of it. He has the same attributes as the Vitoba of Pandarpur. He is supposed to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, which incarnation others attribute to Gautama Buddha. Ganeśvádi is situated near the Cloth Market. Ganeśa is a very favourite deity of the Hindus. He is said to be the lord of Siva's army from गण (*gaṇa*) Siva's troops, and ईश (*ishá*), the lord.

Near Vitalvádi there is now a new temple of the Vániás on the east side of the Kalkadevi road, with a number of grotesque figures of the gods and rishis. It belongs to the Vishṇav sect.

Not far from Thakurdvar is the little shrine of Mugbhaṭ, said to be derived from the name of a Koli, by name *Munga*, and *bhat*, which means a landed estate in the dialect of the Kôlis, just as Kôlabhat, or Colaba, means the land of the Kôlis. Then there is the prominent and imposing pagoda of Babulnath, situated on the top of the spur of Malabar Hill to the east, not very far from the Parsi Bastums or Dackmas, commonly called the Towers of Silence. It is said to have been built by a goldsmith, the same who helped to carry Mumba' s image from the Esplanade to its present site. Close to it beyond the Gowalia Tank is the temple of Bavanishankar, which is said to have been built at the beginning of this century by Shankerset Babulshet.

In fact, there is hardly a street, a square, a lane or an alley, inhabited by the Hindus, in Bombay, without a temple dedicated to some one or other of their gods or saints, such as Rama, Shankar, Vishnu, Máruti or to Párvatí and other goddesses. It would indeed require a volume to give even a brief descriptive account of each of these temples or shrines with their curious legends and traditions.

The following is a short list of some of those left undescribed. The temple of Shantinath, situated near the Bazaar Gate Street in the Fort, is said to have been built by Nemachand about the beginning of this century. Another, near Bholesvar, built at the expenses of the same founder is called Chintámani. Dhákleśvar, near Mahálaksmí, by Dhakji Dadaji, built in 1831; Gadiji near Payadoni, built by Motichand in 1828 ; and Adesvar Bhagvan in Byculla built in the same year, are some of them. In Phanasvadi, or jack-fruit "village," there are not less than four pagodas, such as Vithoba Rámabai, Mahadev, Bobdev, and Rama, besides two Mandirs in close proximity such as Zaoba and Rama.

I shall now conclude this somewhat wearisome roll of religious monuments of the Hindus with their rather uncouth names, by giving the description of a well-known temple, called Maheśvarî, at Navivadi Lane, where an annual fair is held. It is but a stone, said to have risen up one night suddenly from the ground to the surface, and there it is now, railed all round, with a dome above it. On festive occasions a female figure dressed with a *mukhwata* or silver mask, represents the goddess, who is said to have wrought innumerable miracles. The number of prodigious cures performed by her may perhaps be counted by the large amount of oblations and offerings made to the goddess at her temple by grateful patients. The cure of a paralytic woman, whose illness had defied all resources of the medical science, and the sudden removal of a tumour without a surgical operation from a man's nose, through the intercession of this goddess, as recounted by her devotees, are certainly worthy of being chronicled by the Indian Bollandists. They deserve a chapter in the Hindu *Flos Sanctorum*, if ever published. As St. Augustine says, "There is no religion that does not contain some grain of truth," these few lines devoted to the religion of the Hindus may not therefore be without some profit to the students of comparative mythology and religion.

Before closing this chapter it may be worth while to insert here the two following references—one to the geological features of Bombay, especially to the post pliocene rock formations of the island, and the other to the origin of the name Bombay :—

"The marine series have in this island a thickness of about 20 feet, two-thirds of which is below the level of the sea at spring tides; and from the horizontality of their surface, they appear rather to have been deposited in the sea, and afterwards raised bodily, than to have been formed by beach accumulation from which the sea had gradually retired."

The lowest of the marine deposits is a blue clay, which is still plastic, and of a brown, blue, or yellow colour. Its maximum thickness is 10 feet. It exists throughout the island, as seen in the Flats, resting on trap, or where this has been denuded, on the inter-trappean locustrine formation. It contains few organic remains. Fragments of wood, seemingly stumps of mangroves, are met with here and there, however, perforated by some animal, which has left a number of tubes often filled with *kunkur*. Kunkur in nodules is also found in it, and sometimes in sheets. The blue clay under

the surface soil at Calcutta appears to be contemporary with that of Bombay, and overlies beds of kunkur. Blue clay when pure never effervesces. The blue clay is covered by sands, shelly connections, and conglomerates. This formation covers much of Bombay, as from the Fort to Malabar Hill, through Girgaum, from the volcanic breccia at Worlee to the amygdaloid beyond Máhim, and from the black jasperideous rock at Sewrie to the base of the basaltic hill of Colongee. It contists of loose sand, beds of shells, cardium, tellina, turbo, cerithium, nerita, trochus, turritella and placuna, all genera now living along the neighbouring shore, and coarse conglomerates of gravel and trap pebbles. Sometimes the mass becomes concrete, and may then be used as a building stone." *The Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. vii., pp. 334-35.

The second reference is the alleged identification of Bamboo in the Chapter III, v. 17, of the Bahman Yast of the Parsis. It is, indeed, strange that the Pahlavi texts of the sixth century of our era should contain any allusion to the then little known island of Bombay. It is said, moreover, that the Bahman Yast is prophetical, a sort of Zoroastrian Apocalypse, and the learned Prof. Spiegel was once inclined to identify this name of the country of Bamboo with Bombay.

It is not improbable that the Maurian or Siláhára commercial relations of the Western coast of India with the Persian Gulf of the Sassanian period may have brought this island and the whole region around it within the range of the geographical knowledge of the Persians of that time. But Mr. West doubts it because the MS. or text he quotes from was only some two hundred years old "before the Portuguese invented the name of Bombay, its original by which it is still called by its native inhabitants, being Mumbaê. The locality mentioned in the text is evidently to be sought on the banks of the Oxus near Bukhârâ; the Oxus having been sometimes considered the upper course of the Arag and sometimes that of the Veh. It is hardly probable that either Bêmi (Balk) or Bâmiyân would be changed into Bambô, and the only exact representative of this name appears to be Bamur, a town about 120 miles south-east of Kirmán; this is quite a different locality from that mentioned in the text, but it is hazardous to set bounds to the want of geographical knowledge displayed by some of the Pahlavi commentators."—*The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. V., pp. 221-22.

As for the Portuguese invention of the name of Bombay we have

seen already that it was one of the many phonetic changes in the pronunciation of the vernacular designation of Mumba or Mumbadevi, shortened into Mumbai. The Portuguese chroniclers have the following variations—Mumbai, Mombai, Mombay, Mombayn, Mombaym, Bombai and Bombay, the most common being Bombaim.

CHAPTER III.

THE MAHOMEDAN PERIOD.

The Mahomedan period is the least interesting of all the epochs of the history of Bombay. It is true that the reliable history of Bombay may be said to begin in this period ; but when there is hardly anything worth recording, there is little use in being reliable. Although this period embraces more than two centuries, it has left no durable monument to attest Moslem sway over the island, save a few sanctuaries of their pirs or saints at Mahim, and one or two in Bombay. Their local chronicles are but a monotonous narrative of surprises and repulses, of conquests and defeats by rival Mahomedan powers of the Dekkan and Gujarát. There is hardly a romantic episode to recount, a martial feat to admire their national religious zeal to evoke commendation or an historical incident to enliven the prosaic annals of a violent and semi-barbarous people.

It appears that Bombay and its surroundings had for some time, prior to the advent of the Mahomedans, been detached possessions possibly under a local chieftain of the Gujarát kingdom. On the decline of the Anhilwád dynasty thier kings fell an easy prey to the first Mahomedan leader that invaded Western India at the end of the thirteenth century.

In 1294 A. D. the Mussalmán army attacked Devgir, and in 1312 nvaded, under Malik Káfur, the Northern Konkan, and in 1318 occupied, by order of the Emperor Mubárik, Máhim and Sálsette. In 1347 the Bahmani kingdom of the Dekkan was founded, while the Ahmedabad monarchy, although established in 1391, did not become independent until 1403, by openly throwing off all form of allegiance to the Emperor of Dehli. Between these dates Bombay and its neighbourhood must have been a dependency of, or tributary to, the Pathán kings.

In 1429 Malik-ul-Tujár, a General of Sultán Ahmad Báhmani, who reigned from 1422 to 1435, brought this part of the Konkan under the subjection of his sovereign, seizing, on the death of Kuth Khán,

Governor of Máhim, on that island with the rest of the group. Ahmad Sháh of Gujarát, whose reign lasted from 1411 to 1441, sent one of his sons, Zubar Khán, to oppose him, the result of the encounter being that the king of the Dekkan was defeated at Máhim.

In 1432, another of his sons, Fateh Khán, married the daughter of the Rái of Máhim, probably a local Hindu prince, tributary to the King of Gujarát, and from this time to the arrival of the Portuguese Bombay became subject to the kings of Gujarát. These kings did nothing to improve the condition of the island, except, if tradition speaks truly, the plantation of some fruit trees at Máhim during the reign of the famous Mahomed Begara, or more correctly Baikarah. From this dynasty the territory passed over to the Portuguese whose most interesting, though short period, I shall now pass on to study.

Of the Mahomedan monuments in Bombay there is hardly anything more ancient than the sanctuaries of Pirs at Máhim and the famous hermitage of Mama Jani at Breach Candy. All the masjids are of a comparatively recent date, the oldest being perhaps that built by Nakoda Rogay at Bhendi Bazar, which has a handsome entrance with a terraced gate from whence the muezzin is recited. All the other mosques of both the Sunni and Shia sects are modern and therefore do not concern a record of the "Origin of Bombay."

CHAPTER IV.

The Portuguese Period.

We have now reached a stage in the history of Bombay when one can happily steer clear of all reefs and shoals. It requires no enigmatical interpretation of copperplates and lapidary inscriptions, nor do its records resemble the prosy anecdotes of Pragmatical Mahomedan annalists. It is true there is no surfeit of materials of a rule over the island that lasted only about a century and a quarter, from 1534 to 1661, in this island, and up to May 1739 in the neighbourhood. But the few documents that we possess are all authentic and trustworthy.

To whatever part of Bombay one may turn his steps, whether from Colaba to Máhim or from Varli to Mazagon, or even to any of the adjacent islands, he is sure to meet with some undeniable vestiges of the Portuguese dominion that has long passed away, notwithstanding the shortness of its existence. One feels the influence that clings to its memories, one imagines he hears the echo of its religious songs, and sees as if in a vision, its gorgeous processions

winding their way through its now moss-covered and dilapidated monuments, scattered in and about Bombay. Of all their old settlements in the East which have succumbed to the inexorable law of decay and then passed over to other hands like Ormuz, Cochin, Ceylon and Malacca, Bombay alone has so long preserved the reminiscences of a past that has now no other claim to public recognition than that of a mere historical episode, an incident of more or less scientific interest in the midst of a life of helpless torpor and immobility so characteristic of the Orient. And yet what a brilliant episode it was that united for the first time the East with the West by a new maritime route. It not only paved the way for greater achievements, but was the dawn of a brighter future, pregnant with undreamed possibilities still in the womb of time.

When Vasco da Gama arrived on the 20th of May 1498 at Calicut, he landed one of his *degredados*, criminals transported to India, on the coast. He was met by two Tunisian Moors, who spoke Castilian and Genoese. In utter amazement they asked him who had brought him there. "Al diabro que te doo : quem te traxo aquá? " To this unfriendly exclamation he calmly replied :—" Vimos buscar christãos e especiaria." ' We come to seek Christians and spices. ' *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama, em* 1497, p. 51. Christians and spices, or religion first and trade afterwards. These two words then constitute a synthesis of the ideals prevalent at the time. They were the chief motives of this great enterprise which revolutionised the course of history. They breathe the true spirit of the Crusade leagued to that of commerce. Having driven the Moors from the peninsula beyond the Straits, they now crossed the ocean, " o'er the seas that ne'er had been traversed before," to fight against the Crescent on the Indian soil, and to convert the Hindus. A gigantic scheme, a very ambitious project, indeed, and very hard to realize. The *degredado* simply said that they had come in search of Christians, possibly of the famous Prester John of Ethiopia and the Nestorian Christians of the Serra of Malabar, but the Portuguese soon passed from seeking to making Christians.

The recent programme for the commemoration of the fourth centenary of this great event, in May 1898, is preceded by an address from a committee of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which runs thus :— " The discovery of the maritime way to India was the beginning of commerce, of navigation, and of modern civilisation ; it opened and definitely consolidated a new era of expansion, of conviviality and of

labour among the civilised nations; it is the embodiment and synthesis of the heroic epoch of Portugal." On reading this stirring appeal to the civilised world, one naturally desires to turn to sources where to study the character of this epoch or to imbibe correct notions about the "new era of expansion." And happily one can find them, among other sources, in the abovementioned *Roteiro* or Log-book of the great Admiral. The editors of this book, Alexandre Herculano and the Baron of the Castello de Paiva, two revered names in the republic of letters, write:—"The revolutions of three centuries, in the growth and decay of the peoples of Europe; the sceptre of the seas passing rapidly from Venice and Genoa to Portugal, from Portugal to Spain, from Spain to Holland, and from Holland to England; and all these events united with the conquest of India, render its discovery a European fact, a fact on which hinges the modern history of all these nations who owe to it their aggrandizement and their misfortunes. From the Adriatic to the sea of the Hebrides the word *India* sounds as a cry of painful remembrances of glory and of remorse. How many crimes has, indeed, that much coveted East begotten, and for how many tears have its drugs, its spices, and its gold been bought. Which nation can boast of its having ruled over Hindustan without its title-deeds being tarnished with treasons, perjury and barbarities! Portugal paid with more than two centuries of opprobrium and bitterness for eighty years of crimes, and its reckoning was settled before God and men. The conquests of Asia have passed over to alien hands, and our only duty is to gather unsullied and pure glory from the heritage of our ancestors."

Here again history is but morals taught by examples. All sordidness of man passes away like smoke, blackening the way as it passes, and ideal goodness is alone what remains in full brightness. Fortunately, there are of the latter many splendid illustrations, as we shall see further on in the course of this narrative.

João de Barros in his *Decadas* describes the Bombay region thus:—"Following further the coast there are Navsari, Gandevi, Daman, Dhanu, Tarapur, Khelme, Agasi, and Bassein, where we have at present a fortress, with the lands of its jurisdiction which pay as revenue in times of peace one hundred thousand pardaos, which in our money are worth thirty-six contos. And thirteen leagues further still, at the latitude of eighteen degrees and two-thirds, there is the city of Chaul, where we have another fortress, which is already in the second demarkation of the kingdom of the Dekhan, because

behind it lie the towns of Máhim and Nágothna, which must be four leagues from Chaul, and one from the river Báte, which is the extremity of the kingdom." (Tome I, Pt. I., p. 295, Lisbon 1777.)

Of the Portuguese relations with this region both before and after the cession of Bassein and its dependencies by Bahadur Sháh, King of Gujarát, to the Portuguese Crown. I have already given a detailed account in my *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein.* There are, however, certain events which belong exclusively to Bombay, and these require a more particular and lengthy elucidation.

Gasper Correa, in his *Lendas da India*, refers often to Bombay. He mentions first the descent made by the first Viceroy, D. Francisco de Almeida, on the Bombay coast. This Viceroy started on a punitive expedition to Dábul, to avenge his son's death, "a boy in years but a hero in the fight," at Chaul by the Egyptian fleet, assisted by Malik Eiaz of Gujarát, sent by the Mamluk Sultan to expel the Portuguese from India under the command of Admiral Amir Hussein, in 1508. The Viceroy arrived at Dábul, which was then a place of great trade and considerable wealth, on the 30th of December 1508. He landed and dividing his troops into three bodies attacked the three gates of the city simultaneously. Although defended with desperate valour, the enemy was taken in flank and routed, the town sacked and then fired. Luiz de Camoens refers to this action thus:—

"Tal, antes que no scio de Cambaia
Entre Francisco irado, na opulenta
Cidade de Dábul a espada afia,
Abaixando—lhe a tumida ousadia."—*Lusiadas*, Canto X, est. 34.

Mr. Aubertin has translated it as follows:—

"So, e'en before Cambaia's gulf he reach,
Francisco furious, brooking no delays,
On Dábul's wealthy city whets his blade,
And low is all its tumid daring laid."

The destruction of this opulent city is said to have been ordered by the General to prevent his soldiers realising great riches by plunder, which might have rendered them unwilling to follow him in carrying out his further designs. He left Dábul soon after and went to Bombay. Correa writes:—"The Viceroy departed from Dábul, passed by Chaul, which he did not enter to avoid delay, and cast anchor at Bombay, where the people, seeing our fleet, terrified fled away. Our men captured many cows

and some blacks, who were found hiding among the bushes, of whom the good were kept and the rest killed. The Viceroy, happening to see a well-disposed black being carried by a man, took him and ordered that he be set free if he would take oath, according to his law, to convey a letter from him to Diu and give it to Malik Eiáz. He would be pleased and do him good. The poor black was delighted with his freedom, and swore that he would carry the letter, which was done. The letter was given to Malik Eiáz twenty days before the arrival of the fleet." *Lendas*, vol. I., pp. 926, 927.

The above is a literal translation from the *Lendas*. But the other chroniclers differ from Correa somewhat in dates. According to them the Viceroy left Dábul on the 5th of January 1509, he then took a barge in the Bombay harbour, from which the Portuguese obtained supplies, of which they had run short. On the 25th of January he arrived at Máhim where the people, awe-struck at what had taken place at Dábul, fled from the fort to the mountains, and the fleet was enabled to land for wood and other provisions without any opposition. Francisco de Almeida went next to Diu, where he arrived on the 2nd of February 1509, and defeated a Mahomedan fleet which consisted of more than one hundred ships. He left for Portugal on the 19th of November 1509, and at the Saldanha Bay was killed by a band of Hottentots. He died kneeling on the sand, struck through the throat by a dart. Thus ended the dramatic career of the first Portuguese Viceroy. A sad but a fit epilogue to the life of one whose conduct was mercilessly atrocious, who wantonly slaughtered poor Bombay Kolis, whom Gaspar Correa calls blacks, to be in his turn killed by the genuine African blacks.

Gaspar Correa is, after all, the best authority on the Portuguese history in India for the first half of the 16th century. His history begins in 1497 and ends in 1550. From 1512 to 1550 he was a contemporary witness to the events he records. He died in Goa, but the date of his death is unknown. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who wrote his *Historia da India*, came to India in 1528, but his history ends at the first seige of Diu in 1538. João de Barros, styled the Portuguese Livy, just as Correa is named the Portuguese Polybius, is a trustworthy authority. He was not in India, but from his position in the India Office had uncommon opportunities to obtain reliable and accurate information. He was born in 1496 and died in 1570. Diogo do Couto continued his *decadas*, and carried them to 1600. Manoel de Faria e Souza, who wrote in Castilian,

made a compilation, carrying the history to 1640. It was translated into English in 1695. Being the only work known to the English speaking people, save a few short extracts from the other chronicles, he is more frequently quoted. But, for all practical purposes Correa, Barros and Couto are the best authorities for the history of Bombay, although there are others of considerable merit, whom I shall refer to in dealing with the course of this period, especially during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The second descent of the Portuguese fleet on the Bombay coast was in 1517, during the governorship of Lopo Soares de Albergaria, when Dom João de Monroyo with seven *fustas* or pinnaces entered the Bandora creek and defeated the commandant of the Máhim fort. Barros writes:—"He (Barros calls him Monroy) arrived at the river Máhim, where he found a ship coming from the Red Sea, loaded with merchandise. The men, to save themselves and their goods entered the river and went aground. They saved themselves with the best they had, and the rest was taken by our men, who carried them all to Chaul. Of this capture, the Captain of Máhim, named Xequejij, took great affront, not only on account of the ship being captured before his eyes, but also for having bombarded his fortress. On the departure of our men he hastily despatched three well equipped pinnaces after them to stop the passage at the Chaul Point. As it was the beginning of the rainy season, our men were returning to Goa and were rather careless. But his thoughts were all in vain. Having attacked our men, the latter behaved in such a manner that his pinnaces took to flight." *Decadas*, III, Liv. I, Cap. III, Tome III, Pt. I., p. 71.

When the Portuguese began to build their fortress in Chaul, the Gujarát fleet went again and again to obstruct it. This led to frequent marauding expeditions to the Bombay coast, which did not cease until the cession of Bassein and its dependencies to the Crown of Portugal; although hostilities were for a long time continued elsewhere. Gaspar Correa tells us that in 1521, during the Governorship of Dom Duarte de Menezes, his brother Dom Luiz equipped a powerful fleet to fight the pinnaces of Malik Eiáz, who was trying to disturb the building operations at Chaul. The Gujarát fleet was so harassed and eventually grew so weak by repeated losses that, without fighting, it withdrew from the sea to Bombay, where the Portuguese were in the habit of going from Chaul occasionally in quest of the enemy's ships, until they were able to sail freely in the harbour. (*Lendas*, Vol. II., p. 681.)

The gravest incident of the period, however, was the naval battle in the Bombay harbour in 1529, on the day after Shrove Tuesday, during the Governorship of Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, which resulted in the towns of Thána, Bandora, and Karanja sending a peaceful embassy, instead of resisting, as the others had done, and offering to pay tribute to the Portuguese. The chroniclers differ somewhat in details, but absolutely agree as to the main incidents of the fight. Gaspar Correa, as a contemporary writer, and probably an eye-witness to the event, deserves the most credence, and I shall therefore quote him here in preference to other writers.

Correa writes a long and diffuse account, which will not lose much in interest by considerable condensation. He says, that the Governor Sampaio started from Chaul with a large fleet with the object of taking Diu. The wind being contrary, his fleet came to an anchor before a little island, where were the pinnaces of the great Captain Alixa. This name is written differently by various chroniclers; Andrada, in his *Chronica de D. João III.*, calls him Aly Alaxa; Castanheda, in his *Historia da India*, Halixá, and Barros, in his *Decadas da Asia*, Alixiah. I shall call him Ali Sháh. This Ali Sháh, then, seeing that the Portuguese fleet was near the islet, went away with his rowing boats to the Thána river. The Portuguese taking advantage of a fore-wind, sailed the next day to the mouth of the Thána river, and cast anchor there, because the wind was again unfavourable. Forty pinnaces of Ali Sháh, out of the sixty-eight of which his whole fleet consisted, emboldened by their good rowing, placed themselves to the windward of the Portuguese fleet, at the distance of a cannon-shot, with the prows directed to the galleons, and discharged a volley of shots, which did not reach the fleet, as they were at a distance, and then withdrew to the river.

The Governor did not wish his men to return the volley, nor to pursue the attacking party, in spite of the scoffing and jeers of his officers. During the night, however, the Governor sent Vincente Correa, with his fast-sailing catur to reconnoitre the enemy. He saw all the boats drawn to the landing, except two, which were watching at the mouth of the river. When Correa gave this news to the Governor, he was sent back to spy them until the next morning. The fleet of Ali Sháh, who was second under the command of a son of Kamel Malik (Camalmaluco), the Captain or Governor of Diu, then went to the Nágothna river. This fleet consisted of twenty well-equipped galliots, with galleries on the stern, and in them the Korans of many pictures (*tinhão nas popas*

grandes bayleos, e nelles alcorões de muitas pinturas). These "korans of many pictures" were most probably texts from the sacred book of the Mahomedans with caligraphic flourishes resembling pictures. Sampaio followed them to the mouth of the Nágothna river. Here Heitor da Silveira offered himself to fight the fleet of Ali Sháh, and, with the consent of the Governor, sailed with twenty-six fustas and caturs, entered the river, defeated the enemy, and returned to the fleet with a booty of twenty-seven fustas, the rest being burnt or lost. Heitor da Silveira then went in pursuit of Ali Sháh, who had retreated to a fortress, which, though apparently weak, was well defended. Here Silveira, with five hundred men, laid waste the land, seizing and killing the Moors, and returning with much artillery. Now, the Tanadar of Thána, to escape further injury from Silveira, made himself tributary, and paid two thousand pardaos in gold, promising to pay that sum yearly, to which Silveira agreed. (*Lendas*, Vol. III., pp. 289-297, and pp. 300, 301.)

After this victory the Governor retreated with his fleet to the Bay of Bombay, where he received with acclamation and praise Heitor da Silveira, "full of glory and triumph," as Baros says. The Governor then returned on the 20th of March 1529 to Goa, leaving Heitor da Silveira in Bombay with twenty bargantins, two galliots, and three hundred men to harass the coast up to the Bay of Cambay during the rest of the fair season, and then return before the monsoon to Chaul.

It was during this time, from March to May 1529, that Heitor da Silveira, with his three hundred men, made repeated incursions into the island of Bombay, and probably also the other islands of the group, and gave to Bombay, the name of *a ilha da boa vida*, "the island of the good life," from the pleasant days they spent there, with much game and plenty of meat and rice. It proved an agreeable resting-place, as stated by D. João de Castro, in his *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India*; *desde Goa até Diu*, written in 1538-39, and published by Captain Diogo Köpke at the city of Porto or O Porto in 1843. It also contains excellent descriptions of the Kanheri and Elephanta cave-temples, as well as of the islands in the Bombay harbour. The name of *a ilha da boa vida* is said to have been a nickname or a *nom de guerre* given by Silveira's troops to the island, although D. João de Castro himself calls the island *Bombai*. But to this I shall have to allude hereafter in greater detail.

After resting for some time in Bombay, Silveira went first to Nágothna, and then to Bassein, which he found fortified and well

defended. Ali Shâh was encamped here again with 3,500 men, but Silveira stormed the fortifications, slaughtered many men, plundered and burnt the city of Bassein, and then returned to Bombay, where the chieftain of Thâna, who appears to have been a Hindu, became, as said above, a tributary to the Portuguese. Barros concludes this tragic event thus :—

"Having the Xeque (Shaik appears to have been the title of the local chieftain) of the city of Thâna, which is four leagues up the Bassein river, learnt what Eitor (thus writes Barros for Heitor) da Silveira had done and what the Portuguese could do to him, that city being inhabited by people who live by trade of silk-cloths, which they weave there, and of which there are many looms ; and fearing that Eitor da Silveira might come up to his city and destroy it, sent him an ambassador to the effect that he was anxious to be a vassal of, and tributary to, the king of Portugal, being willing to pay a tribute of four thousand pardaos, in order to remain in peace and security. And because Thâna, both on account of past scarcity and of war with the Portuguese by sea had then become very poor, and the trade was not so active as before, he would give the first year three thousand pardaos. He sent immediately two thousand as the first instalment and pledge, while peace was being made, the rest in the meantime remaining unpaid. Eitor da Silveira, having no sufficient troops to attack such a great thing as that city, both in situation and grandeur, accepted without a reply what was offered, and then sent back the ambassador, stating that he was going to Chaul, where he was called by the Governor, with whom they could settle the contracts there." *Decadas*, IV., Liv., II., Cap. XVI., Tome IV., Part I., pp. 223-224.

Diogo du Couto, who was a record-keeper in the Archives of Goa (*Torre do tombo*), writes on the same subject thus :—"In the river they (the Portuguese) captured three *taurins* loaded with very excellent timber, which they immediately sent to Goa, and which the Governor was pleased to receive for the repair of the fleet. The neighbouring *tanadars* were so frightened after this that Thâna offered to Eitor da Silveira four thousand pardaos of annual tribute, which was accepted, and of which writings were made, but cannot now be found, nor are they necessary, since the direct lordship over these lands became afterwards better confirmed by the cession which the Sultan Bahadur, King of Cambay, made of them to the kings of Portugal." *Decadas*, IV., Liv., V., Cap. VI., Tome IV., Part I., pp. 368-369.

Now follows one of the most interesting historical events that

Bombay ever witnessed during the sixteenth century. It was the arrival of a great Portuguese fleet, collected by the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, for the capture of Diu. A grand naval review was held in the Bombay harbour, and a parade on the island. It was perhaps the largest fleet that had for ages been seen in the Bombay waters, comprising four hundred vessels of all sizes and description. They were assembled under the command of Nuno da Cunha, Governor-General of India, the worthy son of the great navigator, Tristram da Cunha, *patris fortis filius fortior* whose name three islands in the Atlantic bear to this day. He was the master-spirit of that glorious pleiad of warriors and sailors who at that epoch used to swarm the Indian seas. When he was reviewing the soldiers and seamen paraded on the site of the present Esplanade, on the very ground, perhaps, where now stand the buildings belonging to the humble namesake of the great General, and in one of which these lines are written, it must, indeed, have been a splendid spectacle, when—

"Ev'n to the dullest peasant standing by
Who fasten'd still on him a wandering eye,
He seem'd the master-spirit of the land."

Nuno da Cunha, a true Christian hero, because a man of character and of ideal goodness, carried his probity to the extent of paying to the King the value of the iron chain with which he would be buried in the Sea, for he had incurred no other debt. And his stern old father presented himself next to the King and offered to pay the price of the iron chain which sank his son's corpse. How different from the greedy and grasping money worshippers of the day!

Imagination delights to dwell on such sublime traits of character, and on such scenes as these soldiers witnessed, in their quaint, gaudy costumes of the time, moving on the then desolate island of Bombay, having for a background the array of vessels lying at anchor in the harbour, and all preparing to sail for the conquest of Diu. One can well conjure up glorious forms and brilliant visions, which not only make up for the past gloomy solitude of the desolate island, but render it bright with the present active and lively population. And with prophetic foresight of similar pageants in this city, more than three centuries later, when General Napier was sailing to Abyssinia for the conquest of Magdala, and General Roberts to Karachi on the way to Afghanistan for the conquest of Khándahár, one need not despair of seeing Bombay rising to be the metropolis of India.

It may be worth while to add here a few details of the life of Nuno

da Cunha. At Diu, a soldier's head being struck by a cannon-ball he exclaimed—*Humiliate capita vestra Deo*,' Humble your heads to God,' well-known words of the Christian liturgy. On his death-bed on board the ship sailing home, when the chaplain asked him if his remains should be carried to Portugal, he uttered the indignant Scipio's words—'*Ingrata patria! Ossa mea non possidebis*,' 'ungrateful country, thou shall not possess my bones.' These were also the words of Camoens.

These Portuguese were great men because they had strength of character, human dignity and an unshakeable faith in the Supreme. Their work was the best, because it contained no atom of selfishness or idea of personal aggrandizement. Like the greatest works of art which are executed by men who forget themselves in their work, their deeds of gallantry and valour were impersonal and spiritual, for spirituality is the secret of heroism. And yet a generation or two later how degenerate were their successors, merely crawling upon the earth with no better ambition than to hoard up the dust, no nobler occupation than mean and petty scrambling for ease and its comforts, and no higher hope than absolute forgetfulness after death.

Like the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira, Nuno da Cunha's army must have been too glad to spend some pleasant days on "the Island of the Good Life," where there were beautiful groves of trees, much game, and abundance of meat and rice. D. João de Castro, describing in his *Roteiro*, the island of Bombay in 1538, just eight years after the review, says:—"The land of this island is very low and covered with great and beautiful groves of trees. There is much game, and abundance of meat and rice, and there is no remembrance of any scarcity. Now-a-days, it is called the Island of the Good Life, a name given to it by Heitor da Silveira, because when his fleet was cruising on this coast, his soldiers had great refreshment and enjoyment there."

Camoens, the soldier-poet, seems to have had them in his mind when he wrote this graceful stanza:—

"Mas os fortes mancebos, que na praia
Punham os pés de terra cubiçosos;
Que não ha nenhum delles que não saia
De acharem caça agreste desejosos;
Não cuidam, pue sem laço ou redes caia
Caça naquelles montes deleitosos
Tão suave, domestica e benina
Qual ferida lha tinha já Erycina."

Lusiadas, Canto IX., est. 66.

Sir Richard Burton has translated it thus,—

"But the stout seamen when their feet were set
ashore, all hastened to greet the strand;
nor was there any who his ship had quit
sans hopes of finding game upon the land:
None think such game that needs ne springe ne net
on those fair hillocks thus would come to hand;—
so bien, so bonny, so benign a prey
by Venus cast love— wounded in their way."

The Lusiads, Vol. II, p. 349.

These charming lines from what is styled the romantic Canto of the Lusiads induce me to make a brief digression into a field apparently foreign to the history of Bombay; but, barring anachronism, they seem to be allusive to this island. As Duperron de Castera, in his *Lusiade* published in Paris in 1735, remarks, the fictions of Camoens are the more marvellous because they are all founded on history. *Sont d'autant plus marveilleuses, qu'elles ont toutes leur fondement dans l'histoire.*

In 1875 in a memoir, entitled "An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva," published in the *Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I had ventured to make my maiden attempt at the already vast literature of the Lusiads identifying the enchanting allegory of the *ilha namorada* with Angediva. I described then the celebrated episode of the Isle of Loves, or the *Ilha dos Amores*, as others style it. Since then it has assumed the form of a literary controversy, which promises to be highly instructive.

One of the Portuguese commentators of the Lusiads, the Morgado de Matheus, in his edition of 1817, writes thus,—"Then follows the most beautiful fiction of the island which Venus conducts and disposes to receive her protégés, the discoverers of India, that they may there rest, and to bestow gifts for accomplishing their glorious enterprise. This proves that the island is imagined, not in the Indian seas but near the term of Gama's voyage." This bold conception is adorned and treated with all the graces of poetry. Nowhere has the Bard allowed his fancy to flow with more warmth and voluptuousness. The description of the ground and the gardens of the floating island; the chance meeting of the Portuguese and the Nymphs; and all the preparations for the Feast of Delight, offer the most charming pictures ever painted by the rich and amorous fancy of Camoens—pictures which a Tasso might imitate, but not

excel. One marvels how the poet, in drawing these delicious scenes, not only avoids offending delicacy, but rather excites the soul to generous sentiment by his explanation of the romantic episode. Surely its detractors never compared it with parallel passages in other poems; or they would have detected the higher art which covers the canvas with tints so lively, so shining, and yet so inoffensive to pure taste. The noble character of Camoens, raised above the bards by tenderness of heart united with manliness and magnanimity, here becomes conspicuous.

An English commentator, Mr. John Adamson, writing in 1820, says :—" We now have the lovely fiction of the island, which Venus created to receive her favourites, the discoverers of India, where they might rest from their fatigues, and where she should recompense them for having achieved so glorious an enterprise. This proves (as if it were material) that this island is imaginary, and not placed in the Indian seas, but nearer to the close of the voyage of Gama. . . . . Our admiration of it is excited, because in the display of these delights, Camoens neither offends any honest feeling, nor delicacy; but rather encourages the contrary by the explanation which he gives of the enchanting allegory." Memoirs, etc., Vol. II., pp. 50-51.

Thus these two commentators agree, Mr. Adamson's opinion being but a mere echo of the Morgado's criticism. As for the detractors of the Lusiads, the first in the list is the chaste author of the *Pucelle d'Orleans*, the builder of the Temple of Love in Canto IX of the *Henriade*. Voltaire has based his opinion of the Lusiads on the French translation by Duperron de Castera, who did not know well Portuguese, of which language Mr. J. Aubertin, speaking of himself, says " there are few Englishmen who are more at home in that difficult language," and yet even his translation is far from correct, as shown by Sir Richard Burton in his Lusiads. *See* Vol. III., pp. 172-173.

Voltaire, judging the poem from Duperron de Castera's " loose unpoetical paraphrase of the Lusiads" as Mickle calls it, wrote of the episode of the Island of Venus thus :—" Camoëns après d'être abandonné sans reserve à la description voluptueuse de cette île, et des plaisirs où les Portugais sont plongés s'avise d' informer le lecteur que toute cette fiction ne signifie autre chose que le plaisir qu'un honnête homme sent à faire son devoir. Mais il faut avouer qu'une île enchantée, dont Vénus est la déesse, et où des nymphes caressent des matelots aprés unvoyage de long cours, ressemble plus

à un musico d' Amsterdam qu'à quelque chose d'honnête. J' apprends qu'un traducteur du Camoëns prétend que dans ce poeme Vénus signifie la Sainte Vierge, et que Mars est évidemment Jésus Christ. A la bonne heure, je ne m'y oppose pas; mais j'avoue que je ne m'en serais pas aperçu." *Œuvres Completes de Voltaire*. Paris, 1877, vol. VIII., p. 335.

Voltaire was evidently prejudiced against the poem from Duperron de Castera suppressing and lowering the most poetical passages, and substituting French tinsel in its place. As early as 1773, writing to La Harpe on his *Ode sur la Navigation*, he says :—"J'ai vu avec grand plaisir le fantôme du Cap de Bonne Esperance, plus majestueux et plus terrible dans vous que dans Camoëns. Vous faites frémir le lecteur sur les dangers de la navigation, et le moment d'après vous lui donnez envie de s'embarquer." *Pectus inaniter augis*."—*Ibid* vol. XLVIII., p. 449. And when La Harpe translated the Lusiads, Voltaire wrote again in 1776 to M. De Vimes thus:—"Je crois que c'est à vos bontés que je dois ce Camoëns, et je vous en remercie, quoique je ne le croie pas tout à fait digne d'avoir été traduit par Mr. de La Harpe"—*Ibid*, vol. L., p. 94.

It was M. Julius Mickle, however, who as early as 1776 could take the right view of the episode when he wrote :—"The description is warm indeed, but it is chaste as the first loves of Adam and Eve in Milton, and entirely free from the grossness to be found in Dante, Ariosto, Spenser, and in Milton himself."—*Dissert.*, CXXXIX.

Fortunately, in spite of this tirade against the Portuguese epopee, the sage of Ferney had the magnanimity to conclude his *critique* thus:—"Tout cela prouve enfin que l'ouvrage est plein de grandes beautés, puisque depuis deux cent ans il fait les délices d'une nation spirituelle quo doit en connaitre les fautes."

In reality, if the immense episode of the *ilha dos Amores* or the Isle of Loves is allegorical, and has the faults of the fairest scenes that poetry creates, the same may be said of the island of Calypso and the garden of Alcinoüs in the Odyssey, of the Elysium of Virgil in the Æneid, of Dante's Terrestrial Paradise in his Purgatorio, of Ariosto's False Alcina's empery in the Orlando Furioso, of Spenser's Mount Acidale in the Faery Queen, and in Tasso's Paradise of Armida in the Gerusalemme Liberata.

The whole work has the charm of a classical poem. Montesquieu writes :—"Laed couverte de Mozambique, de Mélinde et de Calecut a été chanté par le Camoëns, dont le poème fait sentir quelque chose

des charmes de l'Odyssée et de la magnificence de l'Enéide." Southey also, referring to the allegory, says that, though perhaps pushed too far, it is quite pure from everything of the *Malus animus*, and that the whole Canto represents an elaborate canvas of exquisite conception and colouring. Cf. Aubertin's *Introduction*, p. XLV.

But there are many translators and commentators, both national and foreign, who are not satisfied with the miraculous floating island, prepared by Venus with the assistance of Cupid and the Nereids, like another Delos, for the reception and entertainment of the returning mariners, being a mere allegory. They have sought and believe to have found the material basis upon which the superstructure of the episode of the Enchanted Island is raised, poetic genius only imparting to it a hallowed renown, just as the genius of Milton once conferred fame on the now desolate island of Ormuz.

It is said that only a dweller in the summer sky of Portugal could realize the accurate picture of the cultivated pastoral scenery as in the following lines :—

" Por entre pedras alvas se deriva
A sonorosa lympha fugitiva "

Canto IX., est 54.

" Midst the white rocks, above, their source derive
The streams sonorous, sweet and fugitive."

But such a scenery of streams flowing among white hollow stones is not unknown in India.

The Morgado de Matheus, however, places the island of Venus in the Atlantic and Manoel Corrae in his *Commentario*, p. 250, states that several scholars believe the fiction to refer to the island of St. Helena. Humboldt in his *Cosmos*, after praising Camoens for his fine sea-pictures, notices that the vegetation of the island belongs to Southern Europe. Manoel de Faria e Souza, in his *Commentario à Lusiadas* C. IX E. 53, supports the view that the island of Venus has its counterpart both in history and in geography. Quoting, then, the *Decadas* of João de Barros (I L. 5 C. 11) he believes that it could not be the island of St. Helena, lying to the west of the Cape of Good Hope, and places it eastwards, identifying it with the island of Angediva. Amidst this perplexity and anxiety at the same time to discover the latitude and longitude of the Fabled Isle, Ignacio Garcez Ferreira in his *Lus. Illus.* T 11, p. 210, N. 161, agrees with Faria and Souza, while José Gomes Monteiro, in his letter to Thomas Norton, expresses his conviction that it is Zanzibar, a con-

viction shared by Sir R. Burton, who writes:—"To speak as a traveller. The Isle of Love embodies the sense of self-esteem, the satisfaction, the revenge of success, and the "rapture of repose" following a successful exploit full of difficulty, hardship, pain and danger. Every explorer knows it right well. Camoens has expressed it, has embodied it in the guise of glorious allegory. This episode is a triumph of genius and art, of tact and taste, of glowing language and of suggestive delicacy. I have rendered every line literally; and the reader will agree with me that only false shame and mock modesty can find fault with a single word. . . . . But a passage in Osorio (de Reb. Emm., II.) has suggested Zanzibar Island; and I am convinced that he is right."—*The Lusiads*, vol. IV., p. 653.

If it is at all necessary for a poetical allegory to have the material base, it is not essential that it should be found only in the islands visited by the great Admiral Vasco da Gama, although history would absolutely demand such a precision. The poetic fiction could well inspire itself in any other source more or less remote, but suitable to the temper, decking out its pictures in the most lively colours.

And what more fruitful source for such an inspiration could Camoens find than the description of *Ilha da Boa Vida* (the Island of the Good Life) by the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira, many of whose veterans must have been contemporary of the Portuguese Virgil. Here was an island, as if floating on water in the midst of a beautiful group of islands, not peopled perhaps by the Nymphs, the Nereids and Naiads, but by some winsome Kôlis of the Negrito type, with the sea all round, and rivers, springs, trees, and mountains in the adjacent island, including the grottoes on the Ghárápurí isle, to complete the scenery of Bombay, which might be envied by even Tethys, with all her progeny of the Oceanids and the numerous river-gods.

The *Roteiro* of D. João de Castro must have been known to Luis de Camoens. He may have read there the charming description of the pleasant days spent by the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira on the island of *Bombai*, as D. João de Castro calls it. Here was an island covered with great and beautiful groves of trees, much game, and abundance of meat and rice, where the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira had great refreshment and enjoyment. And in the absence of the *Roteiro*, or of any tradition from the survivors of the troops and seamen of Silveira, our modern Homer, blind and poor as his Greek

prototype, could easily find in his friend, Garcia da Orta, the proprietor of the island of Bombay, every information about the picturesque island. This learned and accurate observer, whose glowing accounts of the beauties existing *naquella minha ilha* (in that my island), as he says in his *Colloquios da India*, to which splendid work on spices and drugs the poet had contributed an Ode, addressed to the Viceroy, Count of Redondo, the first verses printed, perhaps, might well have been to Camoens a fountain of inspiration. The conclusion then to be drawn from the above facts is that if the charming episode of the Isle of Venus is to assume a material, form, it must adopt neither St. Helena, nor Angediva or Zanzibar, but Bombay.

As a description, which is said to be superior in many respects to the Italian poet's expressive beauty of Armida's Magic Garden, there are in this romantic Canto words, phrases and lines which seem, indeed, to have been intended to be applied to Bombay. *Onde a costa fazia huma enseada*, 'Where the coast forms a bay for resting place;' *Tres formosos outeiros se mostravam*, 'Three beauteous mounts rise nobly to the view; *N' hum valle ameno que o outeiro fense*, 'In a soft vale, which mounts divide;' and many such descriptive traits and features of the island of Venus seems to pourtray the picturesque island of Bombay, with its splendid wide bay, the three mounts of Malabar, Kambala and Mazagon or Bhandárváda and "the soft vale" which these hills divide.

The anachronic difficulty of Bombay not having been on the track of the great admiral and his companions in 1497-89, nor known to the Portuguese until a decade later, does not militate against the conjecture. The island is of course imaginary, not placed in the Indian seas, but somewhere near to the close of the voyage of discovery. But the bold invention of Camoens is adorned with the graces of a fertile imagination. His description of the island, the pleasure grounds and the feast of delights, carries him through all those corners of the globe where his Muse leads him. And among these, the island of Bombay may well have inspired him the fiction of "Love's Own Island." In this poetic creation, moreover, Camoens not only adheres to classical models, but blends the Greek with Hindu mythology. His aim was to prove that the great and the good are admitted to drink the *amrita* of the Mount Meru in the company of the immortals who people the Grecian Olympus. And his nymph-espousals and immortal brides have been derived from the Indian Gandharvas or celestial musicians.

I need not apologize for so long a parenthesis in the body of the work, dealing with the Lusiads; for I believe that among modern poets Luiz de Camoens is one who conveys to the reader a dignified idea of human nature, a love of virtue and of glory, calculated to incite an imitation of great and heroic actions, besides the allusion I presume he has made to Bombay.

"The Lusiad," says Mr. John Adamson, "if it were more frequently read in the original, would produce heroes. Bouchardon said, that after reading Homer, he fancied himself twenty feet in height; but with how much greater reason might a Portuguese imagine himself thus high after having read his Camoens?"—*Op cit.*, Vol. II., p. 56.

It is said that Lope de Vega was a warm admirer of Camoens, and various passages in his works testify to the high estimation in which he held the Portuguese epic. Manoel de Faria e Souza, who was the intimate friend of Lope de Vega, states that the illustrious Spaniard told him that, in order to dispel the gloom with which his mind might be oppressed from any casual trouble or misfortune, he usually appealed to the work of Camoens.

At the seige of Colombo, in Ceylon, where blazed the last spark of the ancient valour of the Portuguese in the East, the only consolation and encouragement the Portuguese soldiers, when pressed with misery and the pangs of hunger, derived during their painful marches, was by rehearsing the stanzas from the Lusiads. It is now time to close the parenthesis.

Gaspar Correa describes in two chapters the great expeditionary force that Nuno da Cunha collected in Goa. It was the largest army ever seen in India (*que foi a mayor que nunca ouve na India*). Then he also tells of a review of all the army on the island of Bombay (*como o Governador na ilha de Bombaim fez alardo de toda armada*). He writes:—"The Governor awaited the junction of the whole expedition at the Island of Bombaim, of which he made a muster, taking a roll from each captain of the Portuguese soldiers and sailors and of the captive slaves who could fight and help, and the number of musketeers, and of the people, such as servants. And taken together, he found in the whole fleet, including captains and noblemen (*fidalgos*), all Portuguese, with pilots and masters, besides 2,000 Malabarese and Kanarese soldiers from Goa, 8,000 slaves fit to fight, and among the latter he found more than 3,000 musketeers and 4,000 native sailors, able

to row, besides the sailors of junks, who exceeded 800, who, with women, married and single, and people taking goo ds and provisions to sell, and menial servants, the whole number being more than 30,000 souls. The Governor was astonished to see such a multitude, and, fearing that there might not be sufficient food, he was determined to check and send back the greater part of the families to Chaul. But he consulted his captains, who assured him that each person in the fleet had food enough to last him for more than five months. This statement gave the Governor much pleasure, and he was at ease (*ficou descancado*)."—*Ibid*, Vol. III., p. 392.

This took place in 1531. Then the fleet proceeded to Daman, which place was speedily captured, and then northwards. On arrival at the island of Bete (Shial Bet Island), on the 7th of February 1531, Nuno da Cunha landed, and after a fierce fight almost annihilated the Moors. His soldiers called the island after that *a Ilha dos Mortos*, "the Island of the Dead," just as the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira had called Bombay *a Ilha da Boa Vida*, "the Island of the Good Life."

The four years that had elapsed between the review on the island of Bombay in January 1531, and the cession of the island of Bassein, with the adjoining territory, to the Portuguese, on the 23rd of December 1534, were a period of constant hostilities. I shall abridge as much as possible from Gaspar Correa, who appears to have had an active personal share in these transactions, the lengthy account of not less than seven chapters of his *Lendas*, as they bear a close relation to the history of Bombay, and have never been translated.

On his return to Goa in March 1531, Nuno da Cunha left Antonio da Saldanha with sixty sail to cruise in the Bay of Cambay, and to do all damage to the enemy. Saldanha took Gogo, and burnt the city and many ships. The same fate befell the towns of Balsar, Surat, Tarapur, Máhim Khelve, and Agasi. Saldanha then returned to Goa. The Governor now sent Diogo da Silveira to plunder the Gujarát coast, but he found there very little to do, as the coast was nearly depopulated. He then went to the fort of Thána and asked the Tanadar to pay the tribute he had promised to Heitor da Silveira. But by the instigation of Malik Tokán, the Tanadar refused to pay the tribute, whereupon Diogo da Silveira and his men landed and plundered Thána. Then loading three ships with silk and linen cloth, he sailed back to the sea notwithstanding the great shallowness of the river. On his way to Chaul he entered the Bandora

creek and captured a ship with rice cargo. Having thus again brought Thána, Bandora, Máhim, and Bombay under tribute, he proceeded to Chaul in April 1532.

The Governor was highly pleased with the great service rendered by Diogo da Silveira, who also gave him very useful information about Bassein. He said that it was a seaport town of great trade, where ships used to resort and convey timber to Mekka, for the building of the Turkish fleet in the Red Sea. It was then resolved to attack Bassein, and to destroy the fortifications which were being strengthened. It was not deemed necessary to occupy it, as Chaul was so near; but if Bassein were taken and a fortress built there from this place fleets might easily sail and attack Cambay, being at the same time so close to Diu, when Chaul would be given up.

About the end of December 1532, Nuno da Cunha advanced to Bassein with 100 vessels manned by 2,000 Portuguese, all splendid soldiers (*muy luzida gente*), and 800 Kanarese archers from Goa. The chapter XXXVII. of Volume III. of the *Lendas* gives a most interesting description of the assault against Bassein. Although it was garrisoned by 12,000 troops, the Portuguese were able to dash against the fort, take it by storm and raze it to the ground. There is also a charming description in it of the manners of the time; of the religious procession, carrying a crucifix, the singing of the hymn of St. Sebastian,—for it was on the day dedicated to this saint, the 20th of January, that the assault was given—by the Vicar-General Bastião Pires, the same priest who was the chief chaplain in the fleet that was reviewed in the Bombay harbour two years before. He was assisted by two monks, Frei Pedro, Commissary of the Franciscans, and Frei Agostinho, and a cleric by name Vicente Carneiro, all carrying crosses and banners, confessing and absolving troops. Such were the preliminaries of the fight—a real Crusade in India against the Moors. Nuno da Cunha divided his men into three companies and attacked the fortifications simultaneously from three different points. The enemy retired to the inner fort, whence they were soon dislodged. They then fled to the palm-gardens on the other side of the river and to the mountains, after suffering great losses. The Portuguese entered the fort, captured 400 pieces of cannon and a large store of ammunition. After the victory was won there was a grand banquet given, among other things, in a mosque by Nuno da Cunha to his army to celebrate the auspicious event. The Governor gave fifty casks of wine, several bags of white biscuits, tarts, beef

roasted and boiled (*assado e cosido*), ham and cheese. Thus ended the capture of Bassein. It was begun with a religious procession and the singing of a hymn, and finished with a sumptuous dinner with fifty casks of wine. A singular manner, indeed, of combining spiritual with temporal comforts in war.

After this important event in the annals of Bombay and its neighbourhood, the Governor Nuno da Cunha received an embassy from Bahádur Sháh, who offered him terms of peace. Having suffered severe losses owing to the invasion of his territories by the Moghal, the king of Cambay was anxious to secure the friendship of the Portuguese against his enemy. One of the terms of peace was the grant of the island of Bassein for a factory. According to the *Lendas*, Vol. III., p. 583 *et seq.*, Nuno da Cunha declared that he wanted not only the ground for a factory, but the full possession of the whole district for the Crown, because he knew that it was valuable, yielding yearly more than a hundred thousand pardaos in gold. Bassein was finally ceded to Nuno da Cunha just as he had desired with its dependencies by sea and land, and Martim Affonso de Souza arrived in time with a fleet to take possession of the new territory. He met the Gujrát ambassador, who, in the name of Bahádur Sháh, surrendered the country, after sounding a trumpet amidst the people, and then the *tanadars*, to whom was shown the plate (*chapa*) of grant. The assembly took the oath to obey the King of Portugal just as they had obeyed Bahádur Sháh, bending their heads to the ground, and each *tanadar* presented a branch from a sweet-smelling plant to the *Feitor*, or chief of the factory, in token of allegiance. The plate was carefully enclosed in a golden casket, and the ambassador withdrew. The treaty was duly signed on the 23rd of December 1534, when the foundations of the factory and other buildings were laid, and the city of Bassein became from that date the capital of the Portuguese province of the north.

The treaty of the cession of Bassein is given at length by Simão Botelho in his *Tombo do Estado da India*. See *Subsidios*, etc. Lisbon, 1868, pp. 132 *et seq.* Botelho, who wrote his *Tombo* in 1554, prefixes the following remarks to the copy of the treaty (*Trellado*):—"When the Governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, defeated the fleet of the King of Cambay in the Bombay river, and returned to Chaul he despatched Heitor da Silveira to Bassein, whose fortress was not so strong nor so well garrisoned, as when Nuno da Cunha took it on St. Sebastian's day, the 20th of January. On returning to Goa in the same year

and learning that Sultan Bahádur was collecting a large army to attack the kingdom of Chitor, which he was anxious to possess at the death of the King whose young son was under the regency of his mother, the Governor set out with his fleet, and arrived at Bassein in the month of December of the same year. An ambassador of the King of Cambay, by name Xacoes (Sháh Khwájeh), came to offer him, in the name of his King, Bassein, with all its dependencies, for the King of Portugal * * *. The Governor, seeing that Bassein, with its territories, islands and revenues, was the best thing that the King possessed, besides its close proximity to Chaul, accepted the offer, and made the treaty, of which the following is the copy."—*Ibid.*, p. 133.

There are, as will be easily perceived, some slight discrepancies between Gaspar Correa's and Simão Botelho's statements. But they coincide in the main points, diverging solely in some minor details. This treaty stipulated that all ships bound for the Red Sea, from the kingdom of Cambay, should first call at Bassein for passes and return thither to pay the customary port dues; that no warships were to be built in Gujarát; and that no alliance was to be made with the Turks (*Rumes*). These terms having been agreed to, Bassein became, from that day, a Portuguese settlement, its surrender being confirmed when the King gave the long desired permission to erect a fort at Diu. These were the main terms of the treaty; but there were others, although of secondary importance, such as the following:—"That four Portuguese, who were held in captivity by Bahádur Sháh, were to be liberated; that all horses from Arabia and elsewhere were to be brought to Bassein; that 5,000 *tangas larins* were to be applied to the expenses of the Mosques (*misquitas*) as before, and that a further sum of 200 *pardaos* was to be paid as *moxara** to the *lascarins* (lascars) of the two fortresses between the territories of Bassein and those of the Rájputs (*Reysbustos*), named Anira and Coeja." The treaty was signed on board the galleon *São Mateos* (S. Matheus), which was lying at anchor in the Bassein harbour, and besides the signatures of the two high contracting parties, the Governor and Captain General Nuno da Cunha, and Xacoes, the Gujarát Ambassador, bore the names of Martim Affonso de Souza, Admiral (*Capitão môr do mar*), Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, Chief Magistrate (*Ouvidor Geral da India*), Coje Percolim, a Persian Moor, and Morcos

* *Moxara* is written by the Portuguese chroniclers. It is an Indian term, probably derived from the Persian موشهره (*mashahára*). It is also used in Maráthi, and is written मुशारा (*mushárá*). It means pay, salary, or stipend.

Fernandes, the two latter being interpreters, and some others, as witnesses to this historical document.

Now to epitomize as briefly as possible the transactions I have narrated, before proceeding with the later phases in the history of Bombay. Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, the 8th Governor, from 1522 to 1529, conquered Máhim and Bombay; Nuno da Cunha, the 9th, from 1592 to 1538, consolidated that conquest; and D. João de Castro, the 13th Governor and 4th Viceroy, whose *régimé* began on the 12th of September 1545 and ended with his death in Goa on the 6th of June 1548, divided the lands into feuds. It is from this time that the island of Bombay became known to the civilised and learned world as a manor of the famous Portuguese physician and naturalist, Garcia da Orta. It was also about this time that the early Christian churches and convents, whose mournful but picturesque ruins lie still scattered in and about Bombay, were built, and the temples of the Hindus either pulled down or consecrated to the Christian worship.

It has already been shown that one of the dominant factors in the enterprise first conceived by the Infante Henry, the solitary of the Promontory of Sagres, under the inspiration of that well chosen motto—*Talent de bien faire*, and which issued in the discovery of the maritime route to India, was the search for the Eastern Christians. Underlying this was the great scientific motive of geographical exploration.

The ambition of the early navigators was confined to the absolute dominion over the Indian seas and to the foundation on their littoral of trading factories. But this dominion interfered with the monopoly of the Mahomedans, who had hitherto supplied the Indian drugs through the Red Sea to Alexandria, and through that ancient channel to the ports of the Mediterranean, and also from the Persian Gulf to Constantinople. The Mameluke Sultans of Cairo naturally suffered in their pecuniary interests, which are the most unreasonable as they are the most impressive to the sordid human nature. One of these Sultans, losing his temper, wrote a boastful letter to the Pope, Julius II., threatening to wreck his vengeance by killing all the Christians in his States, if His Holiness did not prevent the King of Portugal from carrying out his pretensions. The Pope communicated this quaint letter to the King D. Manuel, who was obliged, in self-defence, not only to increase his forces in India, but also to strive to occupy the best strategic positions in the country, in order to baffle the attempts of his enemies to oust him. One of these

positions was evidently Diu, on the Gujarát coast, which had then intimate trading relations with Mekka and Medina, and which brought the Portuguese in conflict with the Kings of Cambay.

During the fortunate reign of D. Manuel, which lasted from 1500 to 1521, most of his designs were completed. But the capture of Diu and the making of other settlements on the Gujarát coast were left to his successors, D. João III., whose reign ended in 1557. These projects were all eventually carried out at a great sacrifice, and the activity displayed by the Portuguese in India was a check on the growth of the Ottoman Power, at a moment in European history when the Christian States were least able to resist and least likely to combine against the designs of Sulayman to sweep the Portuguese from the Eastern Seas. If the Poles saved Central Europe from the Turks, the Portuguese saved Christian civilisation from the enemies of the Cross in the East. Following the Abbé Raynal, Dr. Robertson remarks that it is to the discovery of the passage to India, and to the vigour and success with which the Portuguese established their dominions there, that Europe has been indebted for its preservation from the most humiliating servitude that ever oppressed polished nations.

It was during the reign of D. João III. that Bombay came into the possession of the Portuguese. His Viceroy, D. João de Castro, after the enormous sacrifice made in the historical siege of Diu, was left with but very scanty means at his disposal to reward the distinguished services of his officers. Just then Bassein and its islands fortunately offered a sufficient amount of land to distribute among them, but not without considerable difficulties. Simão Botelho opposed such a policy, which, although gratifying to the Viceroy's heart and to the recipients, would eventually prove fatal to the interests of the Treasury.

Bombay cannot be studied apart from the life of Simão Botelho, who regulated the land system of the island, and who wrote the *Tombo*, or cadastre, registering the rents of the lands and other sources of the King's revenue, on their acquisition by the Portuguese in 1534.

Like the men of the Italian renaissance, Simão Botelho is one of those mediæval characters in whom all faculties and aptitudes seem to have been cultivated to the fullest extent. In his time there was less division of labour than in these days, and certainly a much greater field for the exercise of one's varied powers. He was a sailor, a soldier, a moralist, a financier, a political economist, and everything

else that one can conceive of in the career of a man of culture. He came out to India in 1531. In 1536 he commanded the troops that fought against the Zamorin or Samuri* of Calicut at the river Chatuá, near Paliporto. In 1541 he went with his fleet, commanded by D. Estevam da Gama, as a captain of one of the vessels, to the Red Sea up to Suez, and was probably knighted by that worthy son of D. Vasco, in the shrine of St. Catherine at the Mount Sinai. In 1542 he was appointed factor of Ceylon, then Governor of Malacca for six months; and afterwards *vedor da fazenda*, or Comptroller of the Treasury at Bassein, and at some other towns. In 1546 we hear of him as engaged in the defence of Diu, and in a naval battle off Broach. And lastly, in 1551, he was commanding a part of the squadron belonging to the expedition that went with D. Affonso de Noronha to Ceylon. After this he wrote to the King asking leave to return home, but the result is unknown.

Nothing escaped his searching eyes, while his tongue was more caustic still than that of the censorious Gaspar Correa. He was, nevertheless, a sincere and honest man, and of considerable culture for his time and surroundings. Four of his letters addressed to the King, D. João IV., have been published by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, three from Bassein, one dated 30th of November, 1547, two of the 24th of December, 1548, and one from Cochin, dated the 30th of January, 1552.

There is sufficient material in these letters for a fairly exhaustive history of the social life and manners of the Europeans in the first half of the 16th century in India. The learned Academician, Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, in the excellent preface that precedes these and other valuable documents, remarks that these letters cannot fail to be very useful to those who care to make a complete study of the period in which Lisbon, the Queen of the West, had become the emporium of Oriental commerce, supplanting the republic of the Queen of the Adriatic. They would indeed be of great assistance to one undertaking to write an economical and financial history of that time of a prosperity, which was more fictitious than real. For this apparent

* The "Keralolpatti" relates how the chief prince of the royal house of Calicut, known as Zamorin to Europeans, became the most famous of the Malayali rájas. He first adopted the high-sounding title of *Kunnalakkon*, or "king of the mountains and seas," from *Kunnu* "hills" and *ala* "waves." Later on he assumed the Sanskrit designation of *Samudri* from *Samudra* "the ocean," which is pronounced by Malayalis *Samutiri* or *Tamutiri*, or vulgarly *Samuri* or *Tamuri*.

prosperity depopulated the kingdom, killed agriculture, squandered lives and means and depraved morals, dazzling for a time other European nations, who regarded with amazement and envy the success of the Portuguese. But on recovering from their stupor they were also seized with the desire to exercise piracy, and then snatch away from the hands of the Portuguese the conquests that had cost them so much blood and treasure.

Simão Botelho and D. João de Castro, the Viceroy and his Minister of the Finances, are two central figures in the political and religious drama that was enacted three hundred and fifty years ago in the charming region of the North Konkan. These two distinguished personages have an intimate connection with the early history of Bombay under the Portuguese. Both of them were men of culture, of probity, of scrupulous care, each doing, in his sphere, and within the means of his disposal, the best to serve, as Botelho says, his God and his King, the altar and the fatherland. But from their antagonistic positions, they held different views in the matter of spending the King's treasure, one full of generosity and the other of parsimony; one anxious to reward his valiant companions in arms, and the other careful to save means to equip the army and navy that had to fight battles for his King's rights and his country's honour.

Thus the lands of Bombay and of the neighbouring islands were parcelled out among the officers at a very small quit-rent (*foro*), amounting to from four to ten per cent. of the ordinary rental. Villages varying in number from one to six, and whole islands were granted in estates, which, causing considerable loss to the Treasury, induced Botelho to write to the King proposing a change in the terms of the grants. He proposed that, instead of the villages being granted drowned lands, that is ground liable to be flooded by sea or swamps, be allotted in perpetuity, free of rent, reserving only a small quit-rent for the State; for draining the swamps would increase the revenue of the crown. A similar proposal appears to have been made later on in 1677, when Bombay was under the British. This proposal was carried out by degrees, reclaiming overflown lands and joining several islets, which now constitute the modern Bombay. Warden quotes the following from the Bombay Government Resolution of the time:—"The Government has been directed to encourage speculators to stop the breaches where the sea overflowed the island, by allowing them to hold the land they recover for a term of years, free of rent, reserving only a small quit-rent for the Honourable

Company." (Landed Tenures of Bombay)—*Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, Vol. III., p. 47.

These lands then began to be granted by the Portuguese Government about 1538, and during the Viceroyalty of D. João de Castro, from 1545 to 1548, the increase of grants has assumed such a lavish proportion that Botelho had to protest energetically against it in the presence of the Viceroy. The latter feeling at the time indisposed, and having grown fretful and angry (*apasionado e agastado*), received the protest with resentment, of which Botelho complains to the King, citing the testimony of the *custodio e mestre Francisco* (the future St. Francis Xavier) and Dom Jeromino de Noronha, who were present at that stormy interview. Botelho also writes that in 1548 the produce of some of the villages had been fraudulently underestimated, and as he enhanced the rate he created enemies, who used to insult him in public. Of this he gives several instances in letters, the most conspicuous being that of one Antonio de Sá, son of a priest and a nun from the city of Porto. To this man's charge were already laid two homicides in Bassein, but, as the Magistrate took hardly any notice of his crimes, he went about quite freely.

The ancient constitution of Bombay and other islands under the Portuguese was feudal. The King claimed the military services of the tenants, or their services were substituted by the tax. In other words, the inhabitants were bound to furnish military service, the Crown lands allotted to individuals being held by a feudal tenure.

They payed from four to ten per cent. of the profits of their lands as a quit-rent, reserving the right of the military service to the King. Most of the owners of the villages and islands not only supplied a militia of few men, but some of them had also to keep one or more Arab horses for the defence of the country. Antonio Bocarro informs us in his *Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas* (Book of the Plants of the Fortresses) that in 1634 the *caçabe* or the principal place of the village Mombaim, as he calls Bombay, had eleven Portuguese *casados* or married settlers, and some native blacks (*naturaes pretos*), making altogether seventy musketeers able to serve in war. See *Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., p. 218, *et seq.*

These landlords, who, as already stated, paid from four to ten per cent. of the regular rental, had these large areas of land granted to them either for three years, or for one or three lives. But these leases were renewable, and in the case of a few distinguished individuals, and of churches or religious orders they were permanent.

Among these lordly tenants or *foreiros*, as they were called, Simão Botelho, in his animadversion to the King against the excessive liberality of the Viceroy, singled out Antonio Pessoa, to whom were granted five villages and one island for the annual rent of a little over 900 gold pardaos, while they used to yield, before this grant was made, not less than 2,500. Botelho then describes the fortress of Bassein, and its dependencies as the best possession of His Majesty in India. He adds that it contained all that was indispensable for human existence. Among other things he mentions timber, flax, rice, cattle, fowls, butter, and vegetables. On the one side, from above the Ghâts (Bala Gate, from the Persian Bálá, meaning above or upper, and the Indian Ghát, which means a flight of steps, the coast range) were brought wheat, iron steel, saltpetre and other articles, while from Cambay they received all sorts of provisions both for their fortress of Bassein and for other cities, throughout India.

In this general distribution of villages and islands of the Bassein jurisdiction, from 1534 to 1548, the island of Monbaym, as Botelho writes it, fell to the lot of one Mestre Diogo. In 1548 this *foreiro* or tenant used to pay 1,432½ pardaos as annual quit-rent to the Royal treasury; but in the old *Foral* or register of rents, the income of the island was stated to be 14,400 *fedeas*, and then later on 1,375 *pardaos*. *Tombo*, pp. 160, 161.

Soon after the cession in 1534, the *caçabe* of Maym (Máhim) was rented for 36,057 *fedeas*. The *mandovim* (custom-house) of that *caçabe* or head of the district was let out for 37,975. The island of Mazaguão (Mazagon) yielded 8,500 *fedeas*. Monbaym (Bombay) 17,000. The *caçabe* and *mandovim* of Caranja (Karanja) was rented for 80,000 *fedeas*. The island of Sálsette for 285,725. The *caçabe* of Tana (Thána) for 75,626, its *mandovim* for 54,782, and its *bazemal*, a certain kind of revenue, of which I shall speak further on, for 22,959. We have also a minute account of the *praguanas*, divisions or districts of Bassein, such as Anjor, Kairana, Panchana, Kamán, Virar, Solgám and others, the revenue of each being given in detail from 1534 to 1548.

In the meantime we may attempt to make out the meanings of these Indian vernacular terms introduced into the Portuguese language. *Caçabe* is from the Persian خاصه (*khasabeh* and Maráthi कसबा (*kasabá*), meaning the principal place of a district. Praguana is the Maráthi परगणा (*paraganá*) a division of a country or district. Bazemal seems to be a compound word of the Persian بخ (*bág*) 'a garden,'

and مال (*mál*) 'property,' which is in Maráthi also is बाग (*bág*) and माल (*mál*), meaning revenue derived from gardens. *Mandovim* was originally derived from the Gujaráti मांडवी *mándvi*), a custom-house.

The four villages (*aldeas*) of Parel, Vadála, Varlí and Sion, which Botelho writes (Parell, Varella, Varell and Syva) were granted by D. João de Castro to Manuel Serrão for 412 pardaos; the village Ceyva in the island of Karanja to Francisco Veiga, and the village Miva to a Prabhú named Bopaji, *parbu moor destas terras*, "the head clerk of these lands." The Elephanta Island, called here Pory and referred to above, was granted to João Pirez. In Sálsette all the villages, divided into two paraganás of Malar and Marol, were granted for three years to João Rodrigues Dantas, Cosme Correa and Manuel Correa. The villages of Trombay and Chimbur (written Turunba and Chanbur) and three others were granted to Dom Roque Tello de Menezes. The village of Mane and four others to Francisco Brandão. The village of Bandora was granted to Antonio Pessoa. The revenue derived from the custom-house at Válkeśwar (called *mandovim per nome Valepuecer*) was rented to one Posagy for sixty *fedeas*.

This coin *fedea* was a mere money of account, and its value was fifteen reis. The *Livro dos pesos, medidas e moedas* (Book of weights, measures and coins) written in 1554 by Antonio Nunes, — who from 1551 to 1554 was *tánadar* of Agasi in Bassein, and who is spoken of as *cavalleiro de minha casa, casado, morador em Baçaim* in the letter patent of D. João III., that is, a knight, married and resident at Bassein, — a short description of the local currency is given. He divides the coins current in Bassein into three kinds, *viz.*, *fedeas, tangas* and *pardaos*. The *fedea* was a nominal coin, worth 15 reis, four *fedeas* making one *tanga*, while 5 *tangas* in silver went to a *pardao*. This monetary nomenclature was of the Indian origin. The nominal coinage of the predecessors of the Portuguese, the Musalman Kings of Gujarát, consisted chiefly of *tánkás*. Their accounts were kept in *tánkás*, each *tánká* being $\frac{1}{100}$ of a rupee, just as those of the Moghals were kept in *dáms*, the descendant of the ancient *dramma*, as said above, each *dám* being $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee. The term *fedea* is still in use in Bombay, although no coin exists to represent it. Its value is four pice, just as that of the *du kháni* is two pies. The name is current even at present in Gujarát.

Returning now to the proprietor of the Island of Bombay, Mestre Diogo, I have not yet been able to ascertain the exact time

when the island was granted to him, nor when the grant lapsed. We only know that he was the landlord of Bombay in 1348, but who he was history says not. The title of *Mestre* was then affixed to the names of distinguished artists, ecclesiastics, jurists and physicians; but we cannot learn from any document of the time to which of these learned professions Mestre Diogo belonged. It is true the name of Mestre Diogo de Borba is contemporary of the events recorded; for he was sent out with a handsome salary by the King, D João III., to India, in 1533, to promote the interests of religion, and he died in 1548. But during this decade after founding, with the assistance of his friend and colleague, Padre Miguel Vaz, the confraternity of the Holy Faith (*Confraria da Santa Fé*), which he handed over to Mestre Francisco Xavier and his fellow missionaries, in 1842, on their arrival in India, he retired into private life. Mestre Diogo thereafter devoted himself to apostolic labours, renouncing his salary; so that it is not likely that he was the owner of the island of Bombay.

Another individual of the period who could possibly bear the name of Mestre Diogo, was the *Ouvidor Geral da India* (the chief magistrate of India), by name Diogo da Silveira, whom Correa mentions in the *Lendas*, Vol. III., pp. 162-169. He was a cousin of Heitor da Silveira, and an officer of his fleet. When, as in the case of Simão Botelho, able men exercised more than one profession, it is not improbable that, like the modern Americans, Diogo da Silveira should have become both a Judge and a Colonel. Besides, he belonged to the party of Heitor da Silveira, who gave to Bombay the name of *a ilha da boa vida*, "the island of the good life." Being pleased with Bombay he might have applied to the Viceroy and obtained the grant of the island; but this is a mere conjecture.

The next occupant or grantee of the feud or manor of the island of Bombay, after Mestre Diogo, was the celebrated physician, Garcia da Orta. This name evokes memories of a pleasant and glorious epoch when the Portuguese were at the zenith of their power and fame. This was their golden age, a bright phase in the history of conquest, navigation, religion and commerce, when the splendid figures of a D. João de Castro, a Francis Xavier, a Luiz de Camoens and others of that brilliant galaxy shone with a lustre that the lapse of four centuries has not dimmed. How many of the great reputations of our day, with all the modern expedients of journalistic self-advertisement and of pictorial appeals to popular favour, can expect to survive four hundred years hence?

The Indo-Portuguese literature of this period is the richest extant. And the first half of the 16th century is, indeed, full of stirring incidents which admit of embellishment; but, unlike the easy and devious paths of fiction, the paths of history are straight and difficult. It is, however, in the petty details rather than in the great results that the real interest of this history lies. There is a surfeit of materials, and it is a hard task to compress them within a narrow compass. The condensation of historical narrative has a tendency to obscure diction, producing parenthetical clauses incompatible with literary grace.

Garcia da Orta was a physician, a naturalist, a humanist or what we would now call an anthropologist and an antiquarian. He came out to India, in 1534, in the fleet of Martim Affonso de Souza, another highly complex character. Martim Affonso was a bold mariner, a brave general, and an unscrupulous statesman. He was Drake, Clive and Hastings all rolled into one,—a most striking individuality. He was sent as Governor to the newly discovered continent of South America. He steered clear into a new river, on the first of January, and named it Rio de Janeiro, a name that the capital of the United States of Brazil still bears. Then he came to India, and was one of the signatories of the treaty of peace signed on board the galleon S. Matheus in the Bassein harbour. He became the 12th Governor of India, and, last but not least, one of the richest men of the century. Martim Affonso possessed himself of the treasures of Xamaçadim (Shams-ud-din), a millionnaire, merchant and banker, by means which seem to parody in anticipation the Umachand episode of the time of Clive. He spent a great portion of this wealth on the Royal army and navy, and with the rest set sail on the 12th of September 1545 to Lisbon, where he was a favourite of the Jesuits, on whom he bestowed a good share of his great riches.

Referring to this Musalman banker, Simão Botelho writes to the King giving his opinion of the man, and the advice how to deal with him. He writes:—" Of the things of Coja Xamaçadim (Khoja Shams-ud-din) your Highness (this was then the title of kings) must, by this time, have had full information. I shall not therefore speak of them, but shall only remind your Highness that, besides being very rich, as they say, he is the greatest merchant (*tratante*) here, and has dealings everywhere. He has for this reason received many favours both from your Highness and from the Governors. His merchandise does not pay duties in all custom-houses. He sends as

many ships to the Straits of Mekka as he likes. It may seem to your Highness that to confer on him many honours and favours is little; but, I am afraid, he will be worse than Coja Cofar (Khwájeh Safar, a treacherous character at Diu). I can assure your Highness that there is no Musalman (*mouro*), who can be a true friend; their friendship is a mere show for necessity's sake." (*Subsidios*, etc., *Cartas*, p. 2.) Botelho uses the word *tratante*, which means both a merchant or dealer, as well as a rogue and a thief. Perhaps Botelho employed it in the latter sense. The great Affonso d'Albuquerque had such a low opinion of the merchants in general that he used to call them *Attentadores de Satanaz*, or Satanic tempters. Has the progress of four hundred years improved the character of merchants for honesty and fair dealing?

It has been my good fortune to call the attention of the medical and other educated classes to the nearly forgotten name of Garcia da Orta in this country. As early as 1876 I mentioned his *Colloquios* in my *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*. In 1877 a translation of his description of the Cave Temples of Elephanta, the first ever written, was supplied by me to the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik's new edition of the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. In 1878 I referred at length to his life and work in the *Materials for the History of Oriental Studies amongst the Portuguese*, read at the fourth International Congress of Orientalists at Florence. In 1882 a brief sketch of his life was given in my *Notes on the Treatment of Cholera, and on the Opium Question, with Antiquarian and Historical References to Bombay* at the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay. And lastly, in 1883, I quoted him in my notes on old Bombay in the *Census of the City and Island of Bombay*.

Since then a new book has been published, entitled *Garcia da Orta e O Seu Tempo*, "Garcia da Orta and His Time" by the Count of Ficalho, in Lisbon, 1886. It is a model work in the art of biography. After collecting all available documents in the national and foreign libraries, the accomplished author of the book, with admirable historical method and criticism, studies the man and his work, the time and his surroundings.

When in Paris, in 1889, I happened to have the pleasure of meeting the learned biographer of Garcia da Orta, and amidst the frivolities of the gay French metropolis and the attractions of the Universal Exhibition, one of the principal topics of our conversation was the

picturesque personality of Garcia da Orta and his manor of the island of Bombay. In the cultured society of the Count of Valbom, the Portuguese Ambassador in Paris; of Eça de Queiroz, the renowned novelist and Consul of Portugal in the capital of France; of Ramalho d'Ortigão, a distinguished *litterateur*, the Gustave Flaubert of Portugal; of Carlos d' Avila, the promising son of the Ambassador, whose premature death has cast a deep gloom over his country; Batalha Reis and some others, including a few Brazilian scholars, who followed with patriotic interest the subject of our conversation, the figure of Garcia da Orta often assumed almost Homeric proportions.

On his arrival at Goa in September 1534, during the Governorship of Nuno da Cunha, Garcia da Orta embarked on board the fleet of Martim Affonso and went to Bassein and Bombay. He stayed here some time, visited the cave-temples and other antiquarian remains of the place, inquired into the manners and institutions of the country, studied the drugs and other products of the land, and thus laid the foundation of his *Colloquios*, the only work that has preserved his memory to posterity. He seems to have been present at the celebration of the contract of the cession of "Baçaim," as Botelho's copy of the treaty says: "com todas suas terras asy firmes como Ilhas, e maar, com toda sua jurdição mero, misto Imperio, e com todas suas rendas e direitos Reais, e quoaesquer outras Rendas que nas ditas terras ouver, asy e da maneira que as ele dito Rey de guzarate até 'guora pesuyo, e pesoyrão seus capitães e tenadares," on the 23rd of December, 1534. At Bassein he met for the first time the Persian interpreter, Coje Percolim (Khwájeh Parkuli), whom he calls, in the *Colloquio* II., *um rico mercador e bom letrado, a sua guisa, que serve de secretario aos governadores*, "a rich merchant and good man of letters, in his way, who serves as Secretary to the Governors." He alludes to him again in the *Colloquio* VII. as *bom letrado, a sua guiza, estante em Goa*. This Persian merchant and scholar gave him much useful information about the *maná* (manna, the concrete exudation from the stem of the *Fraxinus ornus*, etc.), and the Turkish, Persian and Arabic names of the *aloes* (the juice of the leaf of the *Aloe vulgaris*).

The precise date of the grant of the island to Garcia da Orta is unknown. But collateral evidence leads one to suppose that it must have been during the viceroyalty of the old D. Pedro Mascarenhas, whose rule lasted only for ten months, from September 1554 to June 1555. This Viceroy was a patron and friend of Garcia da

Orta, and when the island lapsed from some cause or other during his Government it was bestowed on the doctor.

Garcia da Orta refers to Bombay as the island the King had made him a gift of, he paying a quit-rent: *Mombaim, terra e ilha de que El-Rei nosso senhor me fez mercê, aforada em fatiota.* This last word, now generally written emphytêuta, is of Greek origin, meaning "he who rents land upon condition to improve it." It appears then that Garcia da Orta had the island granted to him for his life, upon condition of improving it, paying a certain amount of *foro* or quit-rent to the Government during that period.

One can well imagine the condition of the island then. It was still "the Island of the Good Life," as the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira had found it twenty years before. The landlord of the island had here his *quinta* or *granja*, his manor house, surrounded by spacious pleasure grounds, where the opulent physician used to rest from his excursions to various provinces, and from visits to the Rájas, Sultans and Princes who sought his advice. His house was situated at the *Caçabe de Bombaim*, as Botelho names it, the principal seat of the island, situated close to the little fort fairly garrisoned for the protection of the island. It was just where the castle and arsenal now stand, behind the Town Hall. At the time of the cession of Bombay to the British Crown this house was in possession of D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monsanto, who is designated in the documents of the time as *Senhora da Illha*, "Lady of the Island." It was in her great house (*casas grandes*) that on the 18th of February, 1665, the treaty of the cession was signed by Humphrey Cooke and the Portuguese authorities of Bassein.

Dr. Fryer, who was in Bombay in 1673, refers to this house and the fort, thus:—"Where at first landing they found a pretty well seated, but ill-fortified house, four brass guns being the whole defence of the island; unless a few chambers housed in small towers in convenient places to scour the Malabars, who heretofore have been more insolent than of late; adventuring not only to seize their cattle, but depopulate whole villages by their outrages; either destroying them by fire and sword, or compelling to a worse fate, eternal and intolerable slavery . . . . About the house was a delicate garden voiced to be the pleasantest in India, &c." *A new Account, &c.*, p. 63.

In this house Garcia da Orta must have kept his great library, or at

least a part of it, consisting of rare volumes, especially in medicine and medicinal plants. His *Colloquios* quote Hippocrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, Celsus, Rhazes, Avicenna, Averroes, Monardus, Vesalius, Platina, Herodotus, the works of St. Augustine, and Varthema, whose book of travels had then been recently published. He had met with persons who had known the Italian traveller in India. All this indicates that the erudite physician was in constant correspondence with the literary and scientific men of the West, in spite of the great distance and the very slow navigation of those days.

Here the Physico d'El Kei D. João III., as he is styled on the title page of his book—a designation that may now be rendered into Honorary Physician to His Majesty, was collecting information, and taking notes for his *Colloquios*, which were soon after printed at Goa in the first printing press ever introduced into India. It was fortunate that there should be a press at all in the country, or else the work of Garcia da Orta might have run the risk of being lost for ever; for such was often the fate of many a precious work in olden times both in India and elsewhere.

Garcia da Orta took great interest in the growth of rare and valuable plants for their economic uses, and this must have contributed not a little to raise the reputation the garden had then acquired, "voiced to be the pleasantest in India," as Dr. Fryer says. It is impossible at this distance of time to describe the beauty and fertility of the island as it then was, but they must have been great. The blight of desolation that befell Bombay in the latter half of the seventeenth and the early part of the last century was due partly to the neglect of Garcia da Orta's successors and partly to natural causes.

The gradual silting up of the creeks, which then divided his property from the other islands, such as Old Woman's, Colaba, Varlí and Máhim on the one side, and those of Mazagon and Parel on the other, must have rendered the little Bombay islet insanitary. The breaches which overflowed the land with sea water, the creeks which exhaled at low tide mephitic vapours, under the tropical sun, and the Kólis who dried their fish on rocks, must have together conduced to give it in later times the cheerless designation of "the Cemetery of the Europeans," who formed the dismal opinion that their average life on the island was only two years. Closing the breaches, reclaiming the ground, and building causeways and bridges, have now nearly restored to the united Bombay the renown it had once enjoyed in the time of

Heitor da Silveira, D. João de Castro, and Garcia da Orta. But much remains yet to be done; for some of the causeways have unhappily done more harm than good. The Kurla embankment, for instance, which joins Bombay to Sálsette, instead of improving the sanitary condition of the island, has checked the flow of sea-water round Bombay, interfering materially with the purifying operations of the tide, and thus becoming a contributory cause of the increasing mortality of Bombay in recent years.

If men are temporary links, as the Buddhist philosophers say, in the long chain of cause and effect, Garcia da Orta may perhaps be considered to be the stoutest link between old and new Bombay. His famous garden must have been known to the Europeans of the time, and may have probably led to that mysterious joint attack on Bombay by the Dutch and English in the early part of the seventeenth century, which ended so abruptly.

Bombay has no memorial of Garcia da Orta. But his is one of those names, to which the words of Pericles may be applied :— "The whole earth is their tomb." Still if an earthly monument is to be raised to perpetuate his memory, it should be in his old garden in the Bombay Castle. It was here that he laid the foundation of that great science, which has since counted among its votaries such distinguished names as Van Reed, Rumphius, Jacquemont, Wight, and Hooker. He was the pioneer of the noble phalanx of Indian botanists, of whom Haller said—*primus glaciem frigit et naturam vidit.*

The work of Garcia da Orta bears a long title which may be shortened into *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas da India.* It was issued in Goa on the 10th of April, 1563, by the printer, João (he wrote it in the Latin form of Ioahnes) de Endem. The art of printing had been introduced by the Portuguese missionaries into India as early as 1556, the first printer being João de Bustamante, and the first work issued from that press was the *Catechismo da Doctrina*, written by St. Francis Xavier and printed by de Bustamante in 1557, five years after the author's death. The next work was the *Compendio espiritual da vida Christã*, by Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, the first Archbishop of Goa, printed by João Quinquenio in 1561, and re-edited in Coimbra by Manuel de Araujo in 1600. The third was the *Colloquios* by Garcia da Orta.

Besides the printing press in Goa, the Portuguese had introduced

three others into Southern India, one being in the ancient city of Ambalacatta (from *ambala-kadu* or church-wood). This is now a small village with a scanty population of the Nestorian sect, a few miles to the north of Angomale; but in 1550 it was a town of considerable importance where the Portuguese had built a church, dedicated to St. Thomas, and a seminary. It was the centre of the Portuguese missionary activity in Southern India, and it was here that the famous Synod of Diamper (Udiamperur, about 12 miles south-east of Cochin, the capital of Beliarte, the first Christian king of the Jacobite Syrians) was held, under the presidency of the celebrated Primate of the East, D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes, on the 20th of June, 1599, and sat for seven days. Here the Sanskrit, Tamil, Maláyalam, and Syriac languages were cultivated. Types of what they called Malabar-Tamil (Maláyalam) were cut in 1577 by a lay brother, João Gonsalves, at Cochin, and some important works published in that language. There was another printing-press at Cochin, and also at Panikkayal. See my "Materials for the History of Oriental Studies amongst the Portuguese" in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Florence, 1880, p. 185 *et seq.*

The *Colloquios* are preceded by two dedications, one in prose and the other in verse by the author to Martim Affonso de Souza. Then follows an ode by Camoens, who was then in India, said to be the first verses ever published by the great poet. It is addressed to the Viceroy, the Count of Redondo. Next come two introductory letters, one in Portuguese, dated the 2nd of April 1563, addressed to the reader, by an eminent scholar and physician Dr. Dimas Bosque; the other in Latin by Dr. Thomé Rodrigues, also dated in the month of April 1563. And lastly, there is an epigram in Latin in honour of Garcia da Orta, by Thomé Dias Cayado, the same Latinist who had made a speech in that tongue to D. João de Castro on his triumphal entry in Goa, after the famous victory of Diu. The *Colloquios* were, within a few years of their publication, translated into Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and some other languages by Clusius, Briganti, Ziletti, Colin, Frampton and others. They were either faithful or abridged translations or mere compilations. But the author and his book, with all their imperfections, were then a new revelation to Europe. Haller said of him:—*Primus glaciem frigit et naturam vidit.* Christoval Acosta in his *Tractado*, etc., calls him *varon grave, de raro y peregrino ingenio.* And a Portuguese poet, known among the

poets by the Arcadian name of Elpino Duriense, wrote, among other praises of Garcia da Orta, the following :—

"Que primeiro ensinou á rude Europa
Das especies, das plantas, dos aromas,
Que a aurora cria no paiz do Ganges,
As virtudes beneficas e prestantes,
Não sabidas dos gregos e romanos."

These translations and compilations rendered the issue of a second edition almost superfluous, until it was published, at Lisbon, in 1872, more than three hundred years after the first, by the exertions of the Viscount of Juromenha—*clarum et venerabile nomen*. A new edition with a commentary by the Count of Ficalho has been issued, and reference has been made thereto above*. In 1863, the third centenary of the publication of the book, an attempt was made to reprint it at Goa, but without success. Dr. Isidoro Emilio Baptista, an eminent man of science, born at Goa in September 1815, who, after studying in the University of Coimbra and in Paris, was appointed Professor in the Polytechnic School of Lisbon, had made another attempt to publish a new edition of the *Colloquios*, but he unfortunately died in October 1863, leaving his annotations incomplete.

Garcia da Orta wrote his work first in Latin and then translated it himself into Portuguese, as he says. It is now being studied all over the civilised world, especially in Germany, where Dr. Ullersperger of Munich has published his *Garcia da Orta, der Artz, und Luiz de Camões, der Dichter. Ein merkwürdiges Fragment der Geschichte der Medicin.* Flückiger has also devoted several articles to Garcia da Orta in the *Archiv der Pharmacie*, and in collaboration with Daniel Hanbury has devoted many pages of their *Pharmacographia* in English to the elucidation of the text of the *Colloquios*.

As far as the style and form of the work are concerned, the *Colloquios* are a series of dialogues between two men. The first with all his learning has hardly left the city in which he was born, and in which he will die. The other, with less scholarship, has travelled nearly all over the world, and has by observation acquired considerable knowledge.

* The Syndicate of the University of Bombay having desired me to recommend Text-Books in Portuguese for the School Final Examination from 1898 to 1904, I suggested, among others, the first volume of the excellent work by the Count of Ficalho, which, I believe, has been prescribed.

The adoption of this conversational style for a treatise on Indian drugs may appear strange, but in Garcia da Orta's time the influence of the Renaissance was felt to the extent of imitating all classic forms. Francisco Lopez de Villalobos, the Court Physician of Spain, had about the same time written in dialogues his works on medicine. The age in which these authors lived has been called the watershed of human history. In spite of its bold, intrepid character, there was profuseness, intricacy, futility, in many of its literary productions. Garcia da Orta has been accused by some critics of being unmethodical, redundant and periphrastic. He had imitated the classic form of the well-known dialogues of Plato. He could not then have known that there was a still older, if not better series of dialogues in India, the *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikáyas* of Gautama Buddha. Thus instruction by dialogues has in its favour the highest and the most ancient authority both in Europe and in Asia.

But although dialogues were the form common to the literature of the epoch in which he lived, Garcia da Orta, with his vast erudition and the abundance of the new materials at his disposal, was unable to attain to that degree of lucidity of thought and concentration of the mind which has preserved Villalobos from such faults. To condense details in a narrow space is indeed the hardest of literary tasks. To compress many ideas and facts within the smallest compass naturally causes the diction to be involved and parenthetical. That has been the main fault the author of the *Colloquios*, and the proprietor of the island of Bombay, has been charged with.

Garcia's name has, it appears, been given to a plant, which he first described in his *Colloquios* as yielding a fruit called *brindões*. This plant belongs to the natural order *Guttiferæ*. The name of the genus *Garcinia* has by Graham in his catalogue of plants in Western India been ascribed to a French botanist by name Garcin; but this is doubtful. I believe it was so named in honour of Garcia da Orta.

The island of Bombay is referred to in the *Colloquios*—22nd, 28th and 34th. The first reference is to the palm yielding the areca-nut. The author calls it by the Arabic name of *faufel*, and by the Indian name of *supari* (*Areca Catechu*), the betel-nut tree. It is the most graceful and elegant of Indian palms, and is still common in Bombay. Garcia says:—"E melhor é a de Mombaim, terra e ilha de que El-Rey nosso senhor fez mercê, aforada em fatiota," "and the best is that of Bombay, land and island which the King our lord has

made me the grant of, paying a quit-rent." He does not mention the period for which the grant was made. The word *fatiota* is too vague to attach any definite juridical sense or forensic idea to it, but, as I have said before, it must have been for his life. Nor does he tell us the amount of the yearly quit-rent payable to Government. Most probably it was the same as his predecessor, Mestre Diogo, paid.

The especial interest that the island has for us induces me to go into minute details regarding this quit-rent. Simão Botelho in his *Tombo* states that in the old *foral* or *Register of rents*, the quit-rent of the island of Bombay stood at 14,400 fedeas, a *fedea*, as said above, being equivalent to 15 reis or four pies. This must have been in 1534, probably the rent paid to the Musalman kings of Gujarát. In 1535 it was raised to 17,000 fedeas; in 1536 to 23,000 fedeas; in 1537 to 29,000; in 1538 to 27,000. During these four years the rent was collected directly from the farmers. In the year 1539 the island was rented for 26,292 fedeas; in 1540 for 28,190; in 1541 for 28,100; in 1542 for 30,000; in 1543 for 31,000; in 1544 for 38,500; in 1545 for the same amount; in 1546 for 1,375 *pardaos*, each *pardao* being worth then, in the Bassein jurisdiction, 300 reis, or nearly 8 annas. In 1547 the island yielded to Government the same sum; but in 1548, through the zeal of Simão Botelho, the rent was raised to 1,432½ *pardaos*, and the island was granted by D. João de Castro to Mestre Diogo. Next to him the island must have descended to Garcia da Orta, who probably paid the same rent. This exhuberance of detail may appear wearisome, but the subject has an especial interest in connection with the financial and economic history of Bombay.

It is evident from the figures quoted that the rent of the island of Bombay had been going on increasing from the time of the cession to 1548. Still it was a meagre sum to pay for the income derived from the possession. But, on the other hand, did not the English Crown, about four years after its cession by the Portuguese, transfer the island to the East India Company for the annual rent of £10 in gold only? It is true that this was a nominal rent; so must probably have been the rent paid by Garcia da Orta to the Portuguese Government.

Still in those days the revenue of Bombay could only have been limited. The acorn had not then grown into the oak of to-day. Even after Humphrey Cooke, the first Governor of Bombay, and his successor, Sir Gervase Lucas, who thought it an important and valu-

able possession, had done their best to improve it, the total revenue of Bombay,—being now a much larger island than in the time of Garcia da Orta, having Colaba, Varlí, Máhim, Mazagon, Parel, &c., added to the original Bombay—was only 75,000 *xerafins*. A *xerafin* was nearly the same as a *pardao*, unless the coins were specified as gold or silver, when the value of course varied. But in the present case the coin appears to have been in silver. Then as late as 1720 the whole of Malabar Hill was let on lease at a rent of only Rs. 120 per year, and the island of Colaba for an amount proportionately small.

The second reference to Bombay is in the *Colloquio* XXVIII. It treats of the Jaca (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), the jack fruit or *Fanás*; Jambolões (*Eugenia jambolana*), *jambul*; Jambos (*Eugenia lanceolaria*), *jambli* or *jamb*; and Jangomas (*Flacourtia sepiaria*), *jajam*. The dialogue runs thus:—

The Maid.—"There is a man here, who brings a message from the tenant of Bombaim (Bombay)."

Orta.—"Let him come in."

Captain.—"These letters were handed over to me by your tenant, and this basket of *jangomas*."

Orta.—"I shall read the letters afterwards, let us try the fruit. Press it first between the fingers, because it is thus necessary."

Ruano.—"It tastes well, and looks in appearance like a service-berry, and in taste like a plum; it is styptic in taste."

Orta.—"There are many such trees in the gardens of Bassein and Chaul; I also saw some in Batecalá (Bathkál)," &c.

The third reference to Bombay is in the *Colloquio* XXXIV. It treats of mangoes (*Mangifera Indica*), or *amb*.

Servant.—"Sir, it is Simão Toscano, your tenant of Bombaim (Bombay), who brings this basket of mangoes in order that you may present them to the Governor, and says that on mooring the *fusta* (pinnace) he will come soon to rest here."

Orta.—"He comes in the best time of the world; I have a mango-tree in that my island, which gives two crops, one at this time, the other at the end of May, and the other fruit exceeds this in wholesomeness, in smell and in taste, as this in coming out of the season; but let us first try this fruit before His Seignory (*i. e.*, the Governor).

Waiter, take out six mangoes from the basket."

Servant.—"There are twenty mangoes," &c.

Simão Toscano, the tenant of Garcia da Orta in Bombay, must have been a member of that notable family of the Toscanos who,

about the middle of the XVIth century, were such conspicuous members of Portuguese Society in India. Maria Toscana had an important share in the conversion of the daughter of Meale, the Abdula of Ferishta, a pretender to the throne of Bijápur, and in her marriage with her brother, Jorge Toscano. This is a romantic episode which deserves a volume apart. It is full of dramatic incidents, and Padre Francisco de Souza rightly calls them *Tragedias do Meale* in his *Oriente Conquistado, Con* I., *Div.* II., *p.* 17.

The fact of a mango-tree yielding twice a year is not a novelty in Bombay now as it was at the time of Garcia da Orta. In 1866 there was at Colaba in Mrs. Hough's garden, now belonging to the B. B. and C. I. Railway, a mango-tree which used to fruit twice yearly, at Christmas, as well as in the usual season of mangoes in May. The explanation then given was that when it was about five years old it received a serious injury at Christmas-tide, and at once flowered, and so fell into the habit of flowering and fruiting at Christmas. When I spoke about this explanation to the late Dr. Dymock, an eminent botanist and pharmacologist, he did not agree with it. He said that he had known several mango-trees on Malabar Hill which had fallen into the habit of flowering and fruiting twice yearly without any such injury to explain the phenomenon.

Garcia da Orta's ethnological studies may be summed up in the following reply to a question from Ruano about the races inhabiting the settlement of Bassein :—

Ruano asks.—"By what persons is the land of Bassein inhabited?"

Orta.—"The Moors possessed it first, and now there are a few in it, solely those who trade by sea, called Naitias, which means mixed, or made up first of the Moors (Musalmans), who came from abroad and then mixed themselves with the Gentiles (Hindus) of this land. And the Gentiles are of many kinds, *viz*:—Those who till the field and sow it with rice and all sorts of pulse. These they call *Curumbins* (Kunbis), and we lavradores (farmers); and those whom we call hortelãos (gardeners) or who cultivate gardens and orchards, they call *Malis*. There are clerks and accountants (whom they call *Parus*, *i.e*, Prabhús), who collect the rents of the King, and of the inhabitants and their estates, and are great merchants. There are others called *piães* (peons) of arms. There are also those whom they call Banianes, who are such as observe fully the precepts of Pythagoras. There is in each village a people despised and hated by all. They do not touch others, they eat everything, even dead things. Each village

gives them its leavings to eat, without touching them. Their task is to cleanse the dirt from houses and streets. They are called *Deres* or *Farazes*. They serve also as executioners. There are other shopkeepers who are named *Coaris*, and in the kingdom of Cambay they call them *Esparcis*, and we the Portuguese call them Jews, but they are not Jews, they are Gentiles (heathens), who came from Persia, have their own characters, have many vain superstitions, and when one dies they take him by another door and not by that they serve themselves; have sepulchres where they are laid down when dead, and placed there until dissolved; they look to the East, are not circumcised, nor it is forbidden for them to eat pork; but it is forbidden to eat beef. And for these reasons you will see that they are not Jews. Nor the Jews, who exist in the territory of Nizamaluco (Nizam-ul-mulk, *i. e.*, Ahmednagar) bordering upon this, take them for Jews. They take strange oaths, which, as they disregard, I need not tell."

Ruano.—"Do not leave me in suspense; tell it to me briefly."

Orta.—"One who swears takes a cow, and places water on the ground on one side of the cow, and fire on the other, and holds a knife in the hand, and says certain words, which means that as he kills that cow with iron, and is surrounded by water, thus he who swears falsely must suffer. One thing is worth noting, both in these men in others, that nobody changes the profession of his fathers; and all men of the caste of shoemakers are also shoemakers."

This opinion indicates that Garcia da Orta held views on the origin of caste much in advance of his time. Most of the modern ethnologists regard the origin of caste as racial, while some believe that the foundation, upon which the whole caste system in India is based, is that of function and not of blood.

In the above interesting account of the races and castes in Bassein, including of course Bombay and other islands of the group, Garcia da Orta names Naitias and Coaris. These two classes of the ancient population of these islands shows plainly that the Naitias, who were Mahomedans, were a mixed race, and the *Coaris*, called in Gujarát *Esparcis* were the Parsis, who were then a class of shopkeepers. This is perhaps the first reference ever made by a European to the Parsis in India.

The word *Naitia* was common in those days. It was an epithet of contempt, used by the orthodox Hindus for designating the Mahomedans who had married Hindu women. The word is derived from

the Sanskrit नप्त्री (*Naptri*), which means grand-daughter, or anything belonging to grand-daughter, as their children, the *Naitias*. The word *Coaris* is evidently the same as *Ghèbres* or *Guèbre Gaure* from the Persian گبر (*gabr*), which means an infidel, applied by the Arabs to the fire-worshippers or followers of Zoroaster. It is often vaguely used by the Mahomedans to mean infidel, but it was especially applied to the Parsis in the first instance.

If Garcia da Orta was far in advance of his time in the theory of caste, so was Simão Botelho in the system of political economy. In a letter to the King, D. João III., dated Bassein, the 24th of December 1548, he says:—"I hold that if the duties on some articles were not so high, yearly revenues would increase; because more traders and more goods would come to the land." He also writes about the Relação, or the Supreme Court of Judicature, which was lately established there. His remarks are pregnant with useful hints, which give an insight into the manners and customs of the Society of that time. He believed that since the establishment of this court there had been more processes in law, and that wherever there were such law-courts and lawyers there were always more law-suits and more strife. He advised the subustitution of the courts by *mesas* and *mór alçada*, that is, boards of arbitrators or courts of urisdiction under civil magistrates.

In the same *Colloquio* a description of the cave-temples of Sálsette is given. The following translation is almost literal, in order to preserve the fidelity of the quaint style of the original. Garcia da Orta writes:—"There is in one part (of Bassein) an island called Sálsette, where there are two pagodas or houses of idolatory underground. One of these is under a high stone hill bigger than the fortress of Diu, which can be likened in Portugal to a city of four hundred inhabitants walled all round. This hill has a high ascent, and on reaching the top there is a great house or pagoda, built and carved inside the rock where the monks of St. Francis have built a church called of St. Michael. There are many stone pagodas as one goes up. Going still higher there are other houses made of stone, and inside its chambers. And still higher there is another range of houses built inside the rock. And in this house there is a tank or water cistern, and there are pipes, through which the rain-water flows. Higher still there is another class of houses in the same manner. There must be altogether three hundred houses, all having idols engraved on stone. With all this they are dark and frightful, as

things made for the worship of the devil." This is the shortest, as it is the oldest description, of the Kanheri Caves, one of the most interesting Buddhist *Viháras* in the neighbourhood of Bombay.

Garcia da Orta then proceeds to describe the Brahmanical caves of Mandapeśvar, under the name of Maljaz. "There is another pagoda," he says, "in another part of the island, which they call Maljaz, which is a very big house also built inside the rock. It has many pagodas within and is very frightful. Those who enter these houses say that they cause their flesh to stare up and that they are very dreadful." We shall further on compare these short descriptions of the cave-temples of Sálsette with those of Diogo do Couto, which are more minute and accurate, barring some exaggeration, due probably to the information he had collected from the natives who are so fond of the marvellous.

There is yet a great deal to say about the charming personality of Garcia da Orta. Although I have already, I am afraid, exceeded the limits I intended to assign to him, I cannot leave the subject without a final word.

Garcia da Orta died a bachelor in Goa, about 1570, aged 80. The lord of the manor of Bombay lived thus to a ripe old age, receiving the love and regard of all in the splendid dignity of his venerable age; but no record has been kept of the time and place of his death. Besides writing his immortal *Colloquios* and possessing the beautiful island of Bombay, he had the privilege to live long. To become an octogenarian is a supreme achievement everywhere, especially for a European in India. Garcia da Orta lived long and died happy. That is his short but true epitaph.

Passing on now to the subject connected with the last quotation from Garcia da Orta, the consecration of the Buddhistic and Brahmanic cave-temples of Sálsette to Christian worship—a unique example in the religious annals of the world—what a vast and fascinating field for speculation is opened by this singular incident!

The Kanheri rock-cut monastery, with its rows of cells, water cisterns, dining halls, lecture rooms, shrines joined by flights of rock-cut steps, and the crowded burial gallery, is one of the wonders of Bombay. If a new race of monks and worshippers should come to it, after its abandonment for centuries, it would certainly resume again its pristine glory and become a town carved in the solid rock.

All things remain as they were ages since. As Krishnagiri or Krishna's hill, however, the fame and holiness of the place appear to date from long before the rise of Buddhism.

When in 1534 the Portuguese took possession of Sálsette, the Kanheri caves were still the home of a large colony of ascetics. Diogo do Couto tells us at great length what happened there on the arrival of the apostle of Bassein, Fr. Antonio do Porto. I need not, however, translate here the whole of his account, as it has already been published in the *Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. I., pp. 34, *et seq.*, and elsewhere. Diogo do Couto, after describing the caves, which he calls "the wonderful pagoda of Canari," and the two human figures engraved on stone as "twice as big as the giants exhibited on the procession of the Corpus Christi Feast in Lisbon, so beautiful, elegant, and so well executed, that even in silver they could not be better wrought and made with such perfection," adds:—

"This Pagoda was inhabited by many Yogis, who lived there on the alms that were given them by the people of the villages. The chief of them was 150 years old, whom the priests of St. Francis, who first came to live in the city of Bassein, made a Christian, and he was called Paulo Raposo. They also baptized another Yogi, named Caleto, more famous than Paulo Raposo, whom they called Francisco de Santa Maria. He led afterwards a good Christian life, to the great satisfaction of the priests. He became an evangelical preacher and converted many of those Yogis and other heathens. He lived after his baptism five years, and it may be said, according to Similo, that he did not live more than those five years. The priest who first in this island went on converting those Yogis was named Fr. Antonio do Porto, of the Order of Menorites, an apostolic man, of exemplary life, who penetrated into all the secrets of that island, which were many.

"In this Pagoda was consecrated a church, dedicated to St. Michael, and while he stayed there he was informed of the novel, wonderful and intricate labyrinth, not to be compared to any in the world." *Decadas*, etc., VII. Liv. III., Cap. X.

Further on Diogo do Couto continues:—"There was also in the island of Sálsette another Pagoda called Manapazer, which is carved in the living rock. There lived a Yogi, very famous amongst them called Ratemar, who had with him other 50 Yogis, maintained by the villagers. Fr. Antonio do Porto on knowing this went there; but as the Yogis were afraid of him, when they saw him they left

the Pagoda and went to the continent. This was due to some divine power, which they believed God had bestowed on his servant, for no human power could frighten 50 men, seeing only two friars clad in sacks and without weapons to resist them. The priest entered the Pagoda and consecrated it as a temple of the invocation of our Lady of Piety (or Mercy). Afterwards a Royal College was built there for the whole island of Sálsette, for the reception and education of the children of all persons converted to the Faith to which the King D. João granted the revenue and property, which the Pagoda formerly possessed for the support of the Yogis, and which is now administered by the priests of the order of the Glorious and Seraphic P. St. Francis." *Ibid.*

I have purposely omitted the long story of the labyrinth, so graphically described by Diogo do Couto, as it is evidently a myth, and neither Garcia da Orta nor D. João de Castro refer to it. The old legend of the conversion of St. Josaphat by Barlao, as given by Couto, is found in the *Flos Sanctorum* for the 27th of November, summarised from *Sancti Joannis Damasceni Opera*, p. 558, Paris, 1577. It has of late been treated more critically by my friend M. Zotenberg of Paris in his *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph*, 1886, and also in the "Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Lond. 1890, pp. 119 *et seq.*

Several details recorded by Diogo do Couto, D. João de Castro and others make it probable that the Yogis, whom Fr. Antonio do Porto found at the Kanheri caves, were Buddhist monks; for Buddhism lingered nearly as late in many other parts of India. But the Yogis of Monapazer or Mandapeśvar must have been Bráhman ascetics. I have described at length these temples in the "History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein." My sole aim at present in referring to them here is to illustrate the history of Bombay during the Portuguese period, the introduction of Christianity into this island being a theme of deep concern.

But the subject is too vast and important to admit of a cursory treatment. Volumes might, indeed, be written without exhausting its interest and the reflections to which it gives rise. The great complexity of its varied elements allows me to touch only its most salient points.

The religious policy of the Portuguese in India had its faults, its errors and its abuses; and what is there in the world which is human without faults? But at the same time there are hardly any religious

annals of any civilized nation which can compare with theirs in boldness of conception, energy of action and brilliancy of achievement.

It may be worth while to describe here the state of religious feeling in Bombay and the surrounding districts amongst the early Portuguese settlers there, and then sketch as briefly as possible the whole policy from its origin in the time of Prince Henry to the present day. For that policy continues still in more or less vigour, in spite of Portugal's territorial sovereignty, after passing through many strange vicissitudes and reverses, having ceased completely for nearly two hundred years.

Simão Botelho, the Comptroller of the Treasury (*vêdor da fazenda*) who began in 1547, as before remarked, to check the revenue accounts of Bombay and the adjacent territories, writes to the king, D. João III, from Cochin, on the 30th of January 1552, thus:— "The religious of this land are so anxious to spend liberally, and to bestow many alms at the cost of the Exchequer of Your Highness [the old form for your Majesty], that a good sum of money is spent in this way. Besides, some want to favour Christianity to such an extent that a great portion of the revenue is lost, and the land becomes depopulated, especially that of Bassein. I well believe that they do it with good and true zeal for the service of our Lord and of Your Highness; but it seems to me that they could be more moderate in it. This would be better than for some of them to make converts by force, and trouble so much the heathens that it is the cause of depopulating the land, as I said. Provide Your Highness as it is best for the service of our Lord." *Subsidios, etc, Cartas*, p. 35.

The free expression of such an opinion on the part of Botelho on public economy, and his endeavours to raise the revenue of the State, soon brought him into collision with the ecclesiastical party in India. While promoting the fiscal interests of the State he was crippling the resources of the monks and priests, whose financial ideas were in diametrical opposition to those of the *vedôr da fazenda*. The latter had, unfortunately, his conscience in their keeping, and they took advantage of it. When poor Botelho went, as usually every good Catholic does, to the sacred tribunal of the confessional, one monk denied him absolution and threatened his soul with everlasting punishment. But happily for his peace of mind he chanced to meet another monk of a different order, who was pleased to absolve him.

Botelho writes to the King :—" Your Highness may provide as it may seem best for your service. But in this matter I free my conscience by the order of my confessors, who have commanded me to let Your Highness know, especially the Vicar of St. Dominic, who did not absolve me, saying that . . . . . I was excommunicated. Then I accidently met with a friar of the Order of St. Francis, who absolved me, and he was glad to do so . . . . . ." *Ibid*, p. 36.

Besides conferring favours and bestowing largesses on the new converts, the Portuguese missionaries used to spend enormous sums in building monasteries and churches, far beyond the needs of the Christian population. Like the modern altruists, possessing superfluous wealth, who seek an outlet for it in the endowment of hospitals and dispensaries, the pious rich of old used to build chapels and altars, to which the State had to contribute not a small share of its revenue in order to meet the importunities of the priests. This abuse in religious buildings, the supply far exceeding the actual demand, interfered often with the legitimate work of pre-existing institutions. Convents took up the duties of cathedrals, and chapels of churches.

The Viceroy and a certain portion of the civil element in the population remonstrated against these excesses, but were silenced by the anathemas of the ecclesiastics. The *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, a store-house of valuable documents for the ecclesiastical history of India, from the 16th to the 18th century, contains several letters from the Viceroys to the Kings complaining of this architectural mania of the Portuguese missionaries in India. But this monastic building craze seems to have been characteristic of the mediæval times; for even the liberal and most serene republic of Venice had to enact a law in the year 1300, forbidding the building of monasteries and churches which were devastating *domos, terras, possessiones*.

Nor was the disposition and frequency with which the convents and churches were built of any value to the economic welfare of the country. The workman or wage-earner was treated like a slave. The building operations were carried on by forced labour, by that wicked *corvée* of which La Fontaine has left us such a cheerless description, amidst other social horrors in France:—

"Sa femme, ses enfants, les soldats, les impôts,
Le créancier et la corvée,
Lui font d'un malheureux la peinture achevée."

The mason, the carpenter, and other workmen received but a little rice and a copper piece for a working day. The formula of this daily

salary was expressed by *uma medida de arroz e sarebará duru*, that is, a measure of rice and the native designation for 7½ reis, a sum hardly sufficient to keep the body and soul together.

Moreover, the missionaries and their friends were in the habit of treating those who refused to be converted with contumely and disrespect. While bestowing all sorts of privileges on the converts, the heathens, who remained faithful to their ancient creed, were considered to be no better than helots. The orthodox Bráhmans, habituated for ages to receive a certain amount of courtesy and even reverence from their countrymen, were naturally shocked at such a revolting treatment. They ascribed this contemptible tone of the Portuguese to their subordinates, the Prabhús, who from their racial antagonism were supposed to be the instigators of this unusual and provoking disdain.

A Bombay Prabhú gives a pathetic description of the sufferings the Bráhmans underwent under the Portuguese in Bombay, thus:—"In 1434 (A. D. 1512) the Portuguese took possession of a few places in this part of India. Their officers used to exact all kinds of compulsory service popularly known as Vetha* from their subjects and their political opponents without paying attention or regard whatever to their birth, position, caste, etc. Whenever they wanted a labourer or a cooly they caught hold of any person whom they found and forced him to do any work, however mean it might be. They had employed several Pattana Prabhus in high posts in most of their towns and villages. These had been several times against their will compelled by their Portuguese masters to exact the kind of service from their ancestors, relations, and caste men of the future Peshwas of Puna. The Brahmins of that time not understanding the principles of the Portuguese Government attributed these acts to the Prabhus themselves; and thus arose the enmity which existed for a long time between the Peshwas and their followers on one side, and the Prabhu caste on the other. The Prabhus had under pain of being forcibly converted to Christianity by their Portuguese rulers, who were solely guided by their fanatical priests the Jesuits, to obey their orders and exact this kind of service from the Brahmins whom they were enjoined by their religion to honour. A few Prabhus, however, who had courage to disobey these orders were deprived of their effects

* The Maráthi word वेट *vetha* means compulsory, gratuitous labour, the equivalent of the French *corvée*.

and forcibly converted to Christianity. Their Christian descendants are still to be found in various parts of Sálsette and the present Thána and Bassein districts. It may here not be out of place to mention the destruction of costly temples and idols by these Christian conquerors. The disfigured idols and images which are to be met with in various cave temples cut out of solid rock by ancient Hindus and in temples now wholly deserted in various parts of the late Portuguese dominions are the works of these fanatics. Even the Prabhus, who enjoyed posts of honour under them on pain of being converted forcibly to Christianity, had to perform their religious ceremonies and ablutions in secrecy and under cover of night. After the rise of the Marátha power and the establishment of the seat of Government at Puna, a good many Prabhu families fled from their Christian rulers and sought refuge under the comparatively mild sway of the Maráthas." S. M. Nayak's *History of the Pattana Prabhus*, pp. 69-70.

A letter from "the Sar-Subhedar of the Konkan to the Shrimant Peshwa of Puna," dated Sake 1670 (1748 A. D.) in the Maráthi language and in Modi characters, regarding the feelings of animosity between the Bráhmans and the Prabhús, runs thus:— "Your humble servant, accordingly, has made the necessary enquiries at Uran, and having summoned the Prabhus and the Brahmins of Vasai, and having examined them, finds that all this animosity has arisen between the two castes, without any just grounds whatever, from a misunderstanding of the influence the Prabhus have with the Portuguese Government in Bombay In the times of the late Portuguese Government, the Brahmins were, by that Government, made to undergo compulsory labour like Culis, and as the Prabhus held appointments under it, the Brahmins naturally suspected them of bringing this about. Besides this, during the continuance of that Government, learned Brahmins were not honoured and allowed to hold and enjoy their just privileges on the occasions of the great Hindu religious festivals. These two things combining have given birth to all this animosity, and caused the Brahmins to disturb the Prabhus in their religious privileges termed *Karma Marga*." *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

Elsewhere the Prabhu writer gives us the following historical note:—"In 1434 (A. D. 1512) it was first peaceably entered into by the Portuguese and then in 1452 (A. D. 1530) the islands of Bombay, Mahim and Bassein were conquered by the Portuguese from the

Muhammadans, and Nuno da Cunha was appointed Governor. The Portuguese being guided by the fanatic zeal of their Jesuitical priests like the Muhammadans destroyed several Hindu temples and other institutions and forcibly made many converts to their religion. They ruled over it for two hundred and nine years." *Ibid.*, p. 61. This Prabhú history is somewhat inaccurate. The Portuguese did not enter peaceably, nor are the dates correct.

One of the happiest results of the conversion of the Prabhús by the Portuguese was the production of a local native historian, who, when converted, became Caetano de Souza, and wrote a work in Portuguese entitled *A Historia de Mahim*, in 1594. He is said to have based his history on the *Kaostubha-Chintamani* for his account of the Prabhús. But no copy of this work is now available. Mr. Nayak wrote for information to Gabriel Duarte, another Prabhú convert and Government pensioner of H. M.'s Dockyard, who replied on the 31st of March 1876, thus:—"I have the pleasure to state that I knew the illustrious Senhores Miguel Duarte and Manuel de Monte who died upwards of forty years ago. They were appointed by Government, 'Vereadores and Matharas' of the Island of Bombay. They had a large collection of useful records and books in the Portuguese language. I know they had a book named 'Historia de Mahim' in their Libraries. It was, I recollect, written by the illustrious Senhor Caetano de Souza in the Portuguese language. It gave an account of the voyage of Vasco da Gama to the East Indies, and also an account of the reign of Raja Bimba and other Prabhu Rajas of Mahim, Salsette, etc., who came from the Deccan." *Ibid.*, p. 65.

What a severe commentary on the European and Christian civilisation in the East is the Prabhú writer's remark, that "a good many Prabhu families fled from their Christian rulers and sought refuge under the comparatively mild sway of the Maráthas."

This persecuting or aggressive element in the Portuguese policy for the evangelization of India may have been partly due to the rudeness of the times. In the East, or at least in India, tolerance has always been the dominant note of successful religious proselytism. As early as the time of Gautama Buddha in the sixth century before Christ, toleration was one of the essential principles of his philosophy and conduct of life. The views set forth on this head in 1875 in my "Memoir on the History of the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon; with a Preliminary Essay on the Life and System of Gautama

Buddha," have now been amplified by eminent scholars who have had better opportunities for the study of so fascinating a subject. Dr. Rhys Davids in his recent *Buddhism, its History and Literature*, has brought forward proofs of the wonderful toleration that prevailed at the time Gautama was allowed by Bráhmans, whose influence was being undermined, to carry on his propaganda. It was the Bráhmans who took the most earnest interest in his speculations, and many of them became his disciples. He admitted equally men from all castes into his Order, and in the time of the Emperor Aśoka his famous edicts appealed not to the sword, but to intellectual and moral persuasion.

But the aggressive system of the Portuguese propaganda was mainly due to the crusading spirit of the epoch. Prince Henry, the navigator, who originated the maritime discoveries of the nation, was all the while himself a crusader. Azurara in his *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné* supplies five reasons which actuated the Prince in exploring the land of Guinea. The work of Azurara was a *trouvaille* discovered in the Royal Library at Paris, in 1837, by M. Ferdinand Denis, whom I had the privilege to visit in his apartments of the Library of St. Geneviève in June 1889, when he was already a venerable octogenarian. The veteran scholar, who, seated in his private library, rich in books of that period, spoke with youthful vivacity and rapturous enthusiasm of the Portuguese navigators of the olden times, died a few months after, lamented by all who appreciated his worth and his learning. The five reasons mentioned by Azurara are:—The desire to know the country beyond Cape Bojador; to find Christian nations and safe harbours in order to establish mercantile relations, advantageous both to Portugal and to the natives; to learn the extent of the Moorish strength in Africa; to know if there was any Christian potentate there who would help him against the enemies of the Faith; the great desire for the extension of that Faith; and lastly, an astrological reason from which Azurara believed the other four proceeded. As this last reason is of some interest to students of astrology, whose number is so great in India, I shall quote it here:—"For as," says Azurara "his ascendant was Aries, which is the house of Mars and is the exaltation of the Sun, and his lord is in the eleventh house accompanied by the Sun, and inasmuch as the said Mars is in Aquarius, which is the house of Saturn and in the house of hope, it signified that he should be engaged in mighty conquests, and especially in the search for things hidden from

other men in conformity with the craftiness of Saturn in whose house he is. And his being accompanied by the Sun, and the Sun being in the house of Jupiter, showed that all his acts and conquests should be loyally done and to the satisfaction of the King, his sovereign." Cf. R. H. Major's *Life of Prince of Portugal*, &c. Lond. 1868, p. 51. This astrological forecast of Prince Henry agrees with the Indian system of astrology in all the points noted.

The scientific results of the exploration, initiated by "the Solitary of Sagres"—faithful to his motto of *talent de bien faire*, which was the symbol of his life, when by *talent* was meant not a faculty but a wish—are too widespread for more than a passing reference here. It was not only the acquisition of new knowledge, and founding upon this knowledge an empire for his country, but also carrying out, beyond the seas, the spirit and the activity that animated a crusader against Islam and a missionary against the heathen.

Henry the navigator was thus the true author of the modern movement. "For if the industrial element rules modern development," according to Mr. C. R. Beazley, "if the philosophy of utility, as expressing this element, is now our guide in war and peace; and if the substitution of this for the military spirit (W. H. Lecky, *Rationalism*) is to be dated from that dominion in the Indian seas which realised the designs of Henry— if this be so, the Portuguese become to us, through him, something like the founders of our commercial civilisation, and of the European empire in Asia." *Prince Henry the Navigator*, etc. Lond. 1895, p. 125.

Prince Henry was also the founder of the missionary movement in India. During the first year, following the discovery of the maritime route to India, it was not an easy task to organise a complete Christian Mission. Vasco da Gama in 1497 is said by some historians to have brought with him only one chaplain, Fr. Pedro de Covilham, who said the first mass in India, and by others five. Probably the latter number came out on his second voyage of the 10th of February, 1502. Lafiteau, notwithstanding, seems to think that these fleet chaplains were unfit for the missionary work.

It was, however, in the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral, who on the way to Calicut discovered Brazil, in 1501, that a regular body of able missionaries set out to India with the object of preaching the Faith to the idolaters in the East. It is said that while anchored off the Angediva island the missionaries said masses in the little chapel they had found in that island.

These were all Franciscan monks, eight in number, under their guardian, Fr. Henrique de Coimbra, who in 1505 was appointed Bishop of Ceuta. Ferdinand Denis in his *Portugal*, p. 255, says that three of these missionaries died at Calicut on the 16th of October 5101, thirty-three days after their landing there, and four on the 3rd of April 1502, which was considered to be a bad omen for the mission.

In 1503 the future founder of the Portuguese empire in the East, Affonso de Albuquerque, arrived with his fleet of three ships, one of the three divisions, the second and third being under the command of Francisco de Albuquerque and Antonio de Saldanha, respectively. The fleet under Saldanha went to the Red Sea, and on this occasion Diogo Fernandes Pereira discovered the island of Socotra, where he passed the rainy season. This was Albuquerque's first visit to India. He brought with him five monks, two Dominicans, Fr. Rodrigo and Fr. João. The latter accompanied with a cross, in the van of the royal standard, the body of the troops who captured Goa in 1510, and was afterwards sent as Ambassador to Persia, where he obtained great diplomatic success. In 1503 was founded the fortress of Cochin, and missionary work was begun in earnest in that city of Malabar.

After the conquest of Goa, the missionary activity went on progressively increasing. The Franciscan chaplains of Albuquerque's fleet said the first mass in a mosque in the city consecrated to Christian worship, and received from Albuquerque the mosque for transforming it into a Christian temple. In 1517 there arrived from Portugal Fr. Antonio do Louro, commissioned to build a new church and convent for eight friars, under the invocation of St. Thomas. The building was completed in 1521.

Up to that time there was no Bishop in India, although the Pope Alexander VI., by his brief *Cum sicut* of the 26th of March 1500, had allowed the kings of Portugal to supply their place by apostolic, commissaries with extraordinary jurisdiction over lands and peoples from the Cape of Good Hope to India. And all the Portuguese conquests in Asia and Africa were at the beginning of that century subject spiritually to the *Prior-mór* of the Order of Christ, by a bull of the Pope Leo X. In 1515, by another bull of the same Pontiff, India was subordinated, along with the other transmarine possessions to the new Bishop of Funchal and Arguim. Thus the first Bishop of the Portuguese Indian diocese ever constituted was subject to the

Episcopal See of the island of Madeira. This state of subordination continued until the creation of the Bishopric of Goa in 1534, by a bull of the Holy Father Paul III. of the 1st of November of that year, comprising the vast area of all the Portuguese settlements from the Cape of Good Hope to the confines of the East. It was, in the meantime, made suffragan of the Archbishopric of Funchal, whose diocese had been raised to the dignity of a metropolitan in 1533.

The first apostolic commissary and titular bishop of India was D. Fr. Gaspar Nunes, bishop of Laodicea. He arrived in India in 1516 with another body of missionaries of the Order of the Preachers. He stayed a short time out here, and after returning home died at Aveiro in 1528. Others call him D. Duarte, as well as D. Diogo Nunes, who is said to have died some years later. His successors were D. Fr. Diogo, bishop of Dume in 1520, and D. Fr. Martinho in 1523. In 1529 came overland to India, through the Mediterranean, across Turkey and Arabia, the learned Dominican, D. Fr. Ambrosio Botigella de Monte-Coeli, Bishop Aurens. He is said to have been appointed penitentiary by the Pope Julius III., and was a native of Malta. It appears that he returned to Rome, and came out again as papal legate *a latere*, despatched to the East Indies by the Pope Paul IV., in 1556. He stayed some time in the Dominican Convent in Goa, and then went to Cochin, where he died. He knew both the Arabic and Chaldaic languages, and was a great friend of Garcia da Orta, who mentions him in the *Colloquios*.

We are now approaching a period when the Catholic missions in India were developing fast from the little nucleus of Goa into an extensive area, far beyond the confines of the peninsula. From the small acorn a gigantic oak was being reared. The rapid increase of the convents, especially at Malabar, required some urgent changes in the organization of the missions and the prelacies. The old order, created by the bull *Pro excellenti* of Leo X., of the 16th of June 1514, whereby the jurisdiction of the African and Asiatic conquests of the Portuguese, invested thereto in the Chief Priory of the Order of Christ and the Vicariate of Thomar, had been transferred to the bishopric of Funchal, was now to cease for ever. Pope Paul III. by his bull *Aequum reputamus* of the 3rd of November 1534 had constituted a new bishopric in India. The pontifical see of this diocese was erected in Goa, but its vast area included the whole of India, Persia and Eastern Africa. To be more precise, it embraced Goa and its dependencies Kanara down to Calicut, the

Northern Konkan up to Surat, Diu, Mozambique, Mombaza, the Cuama rivers, Socotra, Muskat, Ormuz, Congo and Conoxa with all the intermediate places.

To this extensive territory was eventually added the mainland and the islands as far as China. This great diocese remained in the meantime suffragan of the Archbishopric of Funchal, which had recently been raised to the Metropolitan dignity in the year 1533 by Pope Clement VII. The first Bishop of this new Eastern diocese was a nobleman and a scholar, D. Francsico de Mello, who had received his consecration in 1532. But as he was making his preparations for starting for India he fell sick and died at Evora on the 27th of April 1532. As the fleet was about to sail there was no time to appoint a new bishop, and D. Fr. Fernando Vaqueiro, bishop of Aureliopolis, was despatched as Governor of the ecclesiastical state of India. Whereas D. Francisco de Mello was a secular clergyman, his substitute D. Fr. Fernando Vaqueiro was a Franciscan, both of them being virtuous and learned men. Bishop Vaqueiro arrived at Goa, in September 1532. He was appointed for three years, but as his rule was popular he was allowed to continue in his office as long as he lived. He died, however, three years after on the 14th of March 1535 at Ormuz, and was buried in the chancel of the Church in that city. Diogo do Couto says that his sepulture had a handsome white tombstone, on which was carved his coat-of-arms, containing a cow, emblematic of his name, and the following inscription, half Latin and half Portuguese: *Ferdinandus, Episcopus Aurensis. Fal. aos* 14 *Março* 1535.

Tourists who happen to visit the ruined city of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf may still, perhaps, be able to find amongst the debris of that once famous town this inscription of Bishop Vaqueiro, if they search for it.

Thus in 1534 Pope Paul III., the successor of Clement VII, created the Bishopric of Goa, including the whole of India and all places from the Cape of Good Hope to the confines of the extreme East. The bishopric of Goa was on the 4th of February 1557 raised to the category of metropolitan archbishopric at the instance of the King D. Sabastião, by the bull *Etsi sancta e immaculata* of the Pope Paul IV. Its vast area was now divided into three dioceses. Two new suffragan bishoprics were constituted—Cochin and Malacca. The former embraced the whole territory from Cranganore up the Coromandel Coast to the mouth of the Ganges. The latter the Malay Peninsula, from Pegu to China including Java, Sumatra and the

Malacca islands. The Goa diocese was restricted to India to the north of Cranganore and to Eastern Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

Later on more suffragan bishoprics were created, and the limits of each diocese were defined, metropolitan jurisdiction being reserved for the Archbishop of Goa, who in 1606 assumed the title of the Primate of the East. These bishoprics were Macau, created in 1575, embracing the whole of China and Japan; Funay, dismembering Japan from the former in 1588; Meliapore in 1606, which began at the Coromandel Coast and extended itself to Pegu; and those of Pekin and Nankin in China, separated from that of Macau in 1690. The Archbishopric of Cranganore was created by Clement VIII. by the bull *In supremo militantis ecclesiae solio* of the 3rd of December 1609, in substitution of the bishopric of Angomale, created on the 4th of August 1600. It comprised the whole territory between Cannanore and Vaipi. There were no suffragan bishops. Besides this extensive Portuguese Indian Episcopate, extending itself from Goa to Africa one one side, and to China and Japan on the other, there was a patriarchate in Ethiopia, a bishop of Sirene in Persia and several other bishoprics *in partibus infidelium*. What a sublime picture of the progress made within a century by a small nation and a smaller band of missionaries.

The religious history of the Portuguese in the East is the brightest chapter of their annals, notwithstanding their errors and their failings. As with the scientific so with the religious aspect of their connection with the East; it is more durable in social influences and more beneficial in general results than all the political and commercial enterprises of the nation. But the secret of their great success, as in every case of extraordinary national progress, whether religious, political or commercial, lies in the fundamental fact, which has been pithily expressed by Lemierre in an aphorism—*Le trident de Neptune est le sceptre du monde.* This great subject, the religious history of the Portuguese in the East, requires a volume apart, combining the two historical methods of narrative and commentary, the severe and minute analysis of events of a Taine with the comment of a Montesquieu to explain the laws that govern the character of facts. It is beyond the scope of this work, however, to enter into such details.

A new era was thus inaugurated in the history of Christianity in the East. It is the most remarkable epoch in the annals of Christendom since the days of its Great Founder. And the singular coin-

cidence of the creation of the new bishopric in India on the 3rd of November 1534, and the cession of Bassein and its dependencies, including Bombay, by the King of Gujarát, Bahádur Sháh, to the King of Portugal, D. João III., on the 23rd of December 1534, just fifty days after, enhances the historic significance of these events.

The resultant of this new impulse added to their former incentives to missionary activity was the aggressive proselytism of the Franciscans in the neighbourhood of Bombay. The conversion of the Yogis, the most stubborn and recalcitrant of the votaries of Hinduism, and the transformation of the venerable cave-temples of the Buddhists and Bráhmans into Christian churches was the outcome of this new propagandist policy of the Portuguese.

But to return to the historical sequence of events. The successor to the exemplary prelate Bishop Vaqueiro was D. Fr. João Affonso de Albuquerque. He was the first bishop proprietor of the diocese of Goa. A Spaniard and a nobleman by birth he entered when young the Order of St. Francis, rose to be the provincial of the new province of the Piedade, and was confessor of D. João III.

The successor of the virtuous prelate, Bishop Vaqueiro, in the episcopal see of Goa, D. Fr. João Affonso de Albuquerque, and its first bishop proprietor, after his confirmation by the Holy See on the 11th of April 1537, left Lisbon for India on the 6th of April 1538. He embarked on board one of the ships of the fleet of eleven sail in which the Viceroy, de D. Garcia de Noronha, came out, arriving at Goa on the 14th of the following September. He brought with him two eminent ecclesiastics, Mestre Diogo de Borba, of whom I shall have to speak more at length hereafter, and Fr. Vicente de Lagos. They together helped the bishop greatly in his endeavours to propagate Christianity among the heathens.

D. João Affonso de Albuquerque's great namesake founded the political power of his nation in the East, and he founded Christianity in India. Although duly appointed the first diocesan bishop, he waited for the return of the Viceroy, who, on taking charge of his office from Nuno da Cunha, had gone northwards in pursuit of the *Rumes* (Turks), to publish his bulls. This took place on the 25th of March 1539.

On the conquest of Goa, on the 10th of November 1510, St. Catherine of Alexandria was declared to be its patron saint, and a church was built in her honor. It was raised to the category of a sumptuous cathedral in 1534, and the Bishop on his arrival in India established

the chapter. He was a wise and learned man, and Gaspar Correa, not much inclined to be friendly to the friars and priests, says of him : "Was a poor man of condition and very virtuous . . . . . served very well his place and was mild with the clergy." *Lendas*, IV., 10. The King D. João III, replying to a letter from the Senate of Goa, writes :—"And of what you write to me about the Bishop of Goa, and how fully he fulfils the obligations of his charge, I have received pleasure and contentment." *Archivo Port. Oriental*, 2nd edition, Vol. 1, p. 31.

Bishop Albuquerque died on the 28th of February 1553. The fifteen years during which he ruled over the first Indian diocese were the most active, the most successful and the most heroic of the Indian Episcopate. When he took possession of the See of Goa there was but one parish church in the city—that of St. Catherine. Before 1543 there were about four parishes in the island of Goa, *viz.*—St. Catherine *inter muros*; Our Lady of the Rosary in the western suburb near the river; Our Lady of the Light in the interior of the island; and St. Lucy, in the eastern suburb towards the mainland; besides the churches of Our Lady of the Serra, and of Misericordia. These parishes increased by degrees to a very large number, and in 1565 in the Goa islands group alone, there were not less than fifteen parish churches. And this number went on increasing all over India during the two following centuries.

In 1542 there arrived the first levy of the fathers of the Society of Jesus under the leadership of Mestre Francisco, the future St. Francis Xavier. It was followed in 1549 by the sons of the patriarch St. Dominic under Father Diogo Bermudes. In 1556 a new batch of the reformed Order of St. Francis, called the Recollects, came to India. Then in 1572 came the Augustins, who were followed by the Italian Carmelites in 1612, the Theatins in 1640, the Hospitalers of St. John of God in 1681, and in 1750 the order of the Decalçate Tertiaries was founded. But the Franciscans who, as early as 1518 had definitely settled themselves at Goa under the guidance of Fr. Antonio do Louro, being the spiritual pastors of the Portuguese in Goa, laid the foundation of their first convent and church on the ground once belonging to João Machado, a famous Captain and Magistrate in Goa. Their number increased rapidly, and in 1548 there were in the Goa convent alone more than forty monks. It was from this convent that the first missionaries were sent to other lands. Fr. Vicente de Lagos, the companion of the Bishop Albuquerque, went to Malabar,

and Fr. Antonio do Porto to Bassein, soon after its cession. The associates of St. Francis Xavier remained in the meantime in Goa in the college, which will be described further on, and St. Francis himself went to the Fishery Coast.

Very little has hitherto been said about the ecclesiastical policy of Bishop Albuquerque, because want of space forbids diffuseness, notwithstanding the intense interest of some of his episcopal provisions, which laid the foundation of the Christian missions in India. It is necessary, however, to advert to his correspondence with the King, to his share in the civil administration (in which, on account of his position, as next to the Viceroy, he was often called upon to co-operate) and to his missionary ardour and zeal.

There is an Eastern saying to the effect that the government and religion are twins. In the infancy and also in the vigour of youth all States require the ecclesiastical and civil elements, the priest and the layman, to co-operate in order to solve many a new and hard problem of an infant society. The engrafting of western civilisation and Christianity on the old Indian soil was, indeed, one of the most difficult and curious of these problems. It was, doubtless, a happy and joyful period of vigorous youth, but it was followed too soon, alas! by enervated manhood and sad decrepitude.

The Portuguese of the time of Bishop Albuquerque had not yet established their full dominion in the East. They had a force in reserve which had not quite spent its onward momentum in the material and moral conquest of the world. When the force was spent, they began to decline, and the fall was as precipitate as their rise had been almost sudden amidst many dramatic vicissitudes. Even the last fifty years have witnessed a very speedy decay in the Portuguese Indian missions reduced now to a few sorry shreds of their former extensive territorial sovereignty. It is an anthropological fact worth recording that the faces of the people are altered with the changing face of the land. The brightness of old is now exchanged for dejection, and along with the ruined churches and the wild and neglectful appearance of their towns one meets with but dull, rugged faces and listless depraved characters. For one thing is certain: human beings rise in the scale of beauty as they rise in the scale of humanity, according as they live noble and happy lives.

In the time of Bishop Alburquerque both the people and the towns wore a more cheerful, more intelligent, and more honest look; because they were happy. During the fifteen years that the Bishop

lived in Goa he acted as Governor several times, and contributed materially to the success of several naval expeditions. From the time of his arrival in India until his death there were not less than seven Viceroys and Governors-General, some of whom, like D. Estevam da Gama, Martim Affonso de Souza and D. João de Castro, were obliged to spend a great deal of their time abroad. On the 28th of February 1553 the good Bishop died, and was buried in the sanctuary of the Cathedral, with the following epitaph :—

Aqui jaz D. João de Albuquerque,
Primeiro Bispo de toda a India que
Faleceo o derradeiro de Fevereiro
De 1553 Annos.

This translated into English, means—"Here lies D. João de Albuquerque, first Bishop of whole India, who died on the last day of February of the year 1553."

During his long Episcopate, Bombay and the surrounding country received the first Christian mission under the guidance of the celebrated Franciscan Fr. Antonio do Porto, who beseiged and won the time-honoured centres of Buddhism and Brahmanism, the Kanheri and Mandapeśvar cave-temples.

Fr. Antonio do Porto, the apostle of Bombay, Sâlsette and Bassein was a pioneer of St. Francis Xavier, de' Nobili, Beschi and others in missionary zeal and activity as well as a Bayard in arms. He was half paladin and half *condottiere*; and, like many of the early Portuguese heroes in India, stands out amid the records of brilliant deeds haloed by a glamour that surrounds the legendary figures of antiquity. Fr. Antonio was less a man of contemplation than of action. Long before St. Francis Xavier wrote to Fr. Barzeo "away with the farrago of the schools; study man in himself, that is the true subject for preaching," Fr. Antonio had embodied that maxim in his daily practice. He is said to have converted some thousands of souls in a couple of years in the district of Bassein alone. There may perhaps be some exaggeration in the statement, but there is no denying the fact of Fr. Porto's extraordinary missionary activity in these islands, even at this great distance of time which has softened the fierce light that once beat on his life and actions. Lapse of time cannot divest events so memorable as these of their true dignity and importance.

Fr. Antonio found in the cave-temples some old ascetics or priests of the Hindu sects, whom he converted, and transformed the temples

into Christian Churches. This was a bold step to take; but he was supported in all these revolutionary measures by the secular arm, which was then powerful and ready to defy any resistance or opposition. He consecrated the great *chaytia* or cathedral-cave to Christian worship and named it the Church of St. Michael. These caves, although declined from their pristine glory, were still inhabited by Yogis, who might have been Bráhman ascetics, or perhaps the last remnant of the Buddhist monks, who, after their conversion to Christianity left their Buddhist monastery. Diogo do Couto tells us that when Fr. Antonio do Porto was living in this Church of St. Michael he was informed by his converts that there was connected with the caves a labyrinth which extended itself as far as Cambay, and even as far as the country of the Moghals and the town of Agra. The Franciscan travelled with his companions for seven days through these dark passages hollowed in the rock, but finding no opening he returned. No other chroniclers, who refer to the Kanheri caves, mention the labyrinth. Diogo do Couto describes the tanks and cisterns found there as follows:— "It is written also that he (the king Bimilamenta) caused many beautiful tanks to be excavated, and some of them so large that they might be called great lakes, with which all these countries abound: and to some of them peculiar virtue is ascribed, such as the one in midway between Bassein and Agasi, where the Church of Our Lady of the Remedies stands, in which the priests of the Order of St. Dominic reside. This Lady has performed so many wonders and miracles that all the walls of the Church are covered with pictures representing them. In front of this Church is the tank to which they attribute so great a virtue, that they affirm that any person that gets into it will be healed of any complaint he may have; and the priests watch it with so great care, that they never allow any Hindu to approach it, for fear of their performing any superstitious ceremonies." *Decadas*, etc., VII. Liv. III., Cap. X.

The Church of St. Michael in the *chaitya* or cathedral cave, the most important of the Kanheri caves, is in style and plan the same as the *chaitya* in the great Kárli cave, although, owing to its softness, the rock is much damaged. The measurements are 86½ feet long, 39 feet 10 inches wide including the aisles, and 37 feet 7 inches high. It is supposed to have been built in the time of Yajnaśri Satakarni Gotamiputra, whose date is 177—196 A. D., as already mentioned.

There is now little in the cave to remind one of its conversion to Christian uses. It seems that after the loss of Bassein the caves were desecrated or deprived of Christian worship. Anquetil du Perron, who visited the caves about 20 years after the fall of Bassein, in 1760, says that the central hall, which was vaulted, was 67'×28'×32. The monks had made a church of it and it was still called the church. There were fourteen pillars in its length separated from the hall by an aisle. *Zend Avesta*, etc. Vol. I., pp. 401—408. Thus it seems that the Christians had not entirely abandoned the place in 1760, as it is at present, nor has its use been resumed, in spite of the revival of the Roman Catholic missionary activity since the foundation of the Indian Hierarchy.

Henry Salt in his excellent *Account of the Caves in Salsette*, written in 1806, and published in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, says :—"Leaving the irregular excavation, you pass by the edge of a small tank to the part of the great cave, which, from its resemblance to some Gothic buildings, or from a tradition that it was converted to that use by the Portuguese, is commonly called the church. An ascent of five or six steps leads to the portal, which was once either arched over or much higher than at present, as the broken figures on each side sufficiently show." Ed. 1877, Vol. I., p. 52. As late as 1806, then, the church of St. Michael of Fr. Antonio do Porto in the Kanheri caves had become a mere tradition, and the broken figures on each side of the portal indicated that the Portuguese had already tampered with them in order probably to impart to the cave a more Christian appearance.

The case with the Mandapeśvar caves was somewhat different. Here according to Diogo do Couto, fifty Yogis, when they saw two friars clad in sacks, took to flight, which the chronicler ascribes to divine power. The two friars were Fr. Antonio do Porto and Fr. Antonio do Casal, another famous missionary of Bassein. The priests then entered the pagoda, and converted it into a temple dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Piedade. A Royal College was subsequently established there for the reception and education of the children of the converts, to which the king D. João III. granted the revenue and property formerly belonging to the pagoda, and it was administered by the priests of the Order of St. Francis.

This cave-temple, which Diogo do Couto calls Mannpazer and Garcia da Orta Maljaz, was a very big house inside the rock. In 1695, Gemelli Careri found it to be an underground

church, once a rock-temple, on which had been built a Franciscan college and monastery. It was 100 spans long and 30 broad. The front was built, but the side walls were of rock. Five monks lived there, receiving from the King of Portugal 130,000 pounds of rice (5,000 *paras*) a year, a great part of which they distributed among the poor. In 1760 Du Perron found the church, college and monastery abandoned, the Maráthas having pillaged the place and carried the timber to Thána. In 1804 Lord Valentia found the ruins of a very handsome church and monastery. The church was originally lined with richly carved wood panelling. In the centre was the head of a saint tolerably executed and surrounded with wreathes of flowers. The other sculpture was in excellent taste, although the rest was in ruins and the roof had fallen in. Under the church was a small rock-cut temple square and flat-roofed with a few figures in bas-relief. The monks had covered these figures with plaster and turned the cave into a chapel. But the Maráthas uncovered the original sculptures and worshipped them again as two hundred years before.

The most circumstantial description of the ruins with a ground plan and drawing, after their profanation by the Maráthas, is that of 1806 by Henry Salt, who writes:—"This monastery covers a large extent of ground, was built with great solidity, and if any judgment may be formed from what remains, the chapel appears to have been elegantly finished, the mouldings, ornaments and images of wood now lying scattered about the place being very curiously and handsomely carved. Below the monastery, on the eastern side of the hill, is excavated an ancient Hindu temple, which was afterwards consecrated to the use of the monastery—for what purpose it would be now difficult to ascertain. Its walls and pillars were by the Portuguese covered with a thick coat of plaster, which has proved the means of preserving the few mutilated remains of sculpture that their bigotry had spared. In a recess on the left hand as you enter is the painting of a saint, still fresh on the wall; opposite to this are more visible (the plaster having been removed) the relics of a fine piece of sculpture representing, as it appears to me, a nuptial ceremony; a female figure leaning on her attendants seems advancing towards the hero of the piece, who is of gigantic stature and has six arms; in one corner is a musician playing on the tom-tom, and above are a host of celestial attendants, among which the three-handed Brahma, Vishnu riding on Garoode with the lotus in

his hand, and Ganesa with his usual attributes, are at once discovered. This and the sacred *cobra de capello* on his right, at once point out Sieva as the leading figure; and it is doubtless meant to represent his marriage with Parwuttee like that at Ellora in the Doomar Leyna, described by Sir Charles Mallet in the Asiatic Researches . . . . . I cannot quit this place without remarking that there is no spot in the world where the Catholic and Heathen imagery came so closely in contact as here,—where a Portuguese monastery has a temple of the Hindoos for its foundation, and where the exploits of their God of Terror are sculptured on one side, and the form of a meek Christian saint painted on the other." *Ibid.* pp. 48-49.

This is the reason, this remarkable approximation of Hinduism and Christianity, as in no other place in the world, for my quoting in full this description of Garcia da Orta's Maljaz, or the Manapazer of Diogo do Couto. The present condition of the Mandapeśvar ruins is somewhat different. After the falling in of the roof of the church, the cave-temple was alone used by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the neighbourhood, as Dr. Wilson found in 1850, as a church, instead of their built church which had fallen into decay. The cave was then fitted up as a church with a plain altar and a seated wooden image of N. S. da Piedade about lifesize and a cross above at the south end, and a pulpit about the middle of the west wall. This temple consists of a central hall, two irregular aisles, and a vestibule or portico at the north end. The buildings of the church, college and monastery above the rock on the east front of the caves consisted of the great church, the nave of which without aisles was about 75 feet long by 36 feet wide. The college hall, the row of cloisters and the enclosed quadrangle are now a heap of ruins.

But to return to the narative of the mission. Next to the Bishop in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of India was the Vicar-General. The first occupant of this post, according to Gaspar Correa (*Lendas*, I., 542) was Mestre Diogo, sent out by the King D. Manuel, the Fortunate, in 1505, to provide for the building of churches and chapels (*pera prouer na magnifestão das Igrejas com capellas*). In 1515 the next Vicar-General was the Dominican Fr. Domingos, the confessor of the great Affonso de Albuquerque. (*Commentarios*, ed. 1774, IV., 220). Fr. Domingos said the first mass in Goa in a flimsy little barrack, which eventually rose to be the magnificent Cathedral of St. Catherine; while the Franciscans, under the guidance of Fr. Antonio

do Louro, built in 1517 their splendid church and convent on the ground that was once the property of João Machado, during the Governorship of Lopo Soares de Albergaria. The mosque of Adil Sháh was changed into a chapel, and the whole pile of buildings assumed gigantic proportions under the fostering care of Fr. Paulo de Coimbra. From 1527 Pe. Bastião Pires (Barros, *Decadas* IV, liv. 10, c 8) performed the functions of Vicariate-General, to be followed by the celebrated Pe. Miguel Vaz, who arrived in India in 1530.

Pe. Miguel Vaz, with the assistance of another secular priest, the eminent Pe. Diogo de Borba, and under the inspiring patronage of the Bishop Albuquerque and the Viceroy D. Estevam da Gama, second son of the discoverer of India, laid the foundation of Christian education in the East.

Following the example of the famous statesman and writer Antonio Galvão, who, when Governor of the Moluccas, had founded an educational establishment at Ternate for the natives of those islands, Pe. Vaz and Pe. Borba met together on the 24th of April 1541 along with the most influential citizens of Goa at the Church of N. S. da Luz, and published the statutes of a new confraternity, called of the Holy Faith, choosing for the purpose an altar in that church dedicated to commemorate the conversion of St. Paul.

Their chief object in founding this confraternity was to create a body of men among the natives of all Eastern countries, in the absence of a sufficient number of European missionaries, to propagate Christianity, and to persecute idolatory, favouring the converts.

Apart from the intended persecution this was, doubtless, for the stage reached in ecclesiastical history a splendid idea, and would have probably been a great success had it been carried out with due prudence and circumspection. But excess of zeal marred, as it always does, the beneficent results that were expected by the friends of the Christian missions from its inception.

The question of means for the support of the seminary was easily settled by demolishing the Hindu temples in the island of Goa, and by transferring their endowments to the infant Christian institution. Other confiscations from the meek and long-suffering Indians followed soon after, and on the 10th of November 1541 the corner-stone of the building of the confraternity of the Holy Faith was laid with much pomp and circumstance at the *Carreira dos Cavallos*, a street once devoted to horseraces. The building consisted of a chapel and a seminary where the two learned priests soon collected sixty

students of various nationalities. They named the institution the college of St. Paul in honour of the altar in the Church of N. S. da Luz.

The statutes mention the following races:- Canarins, Decanis of the North, Malavares, Chingalas, Bengalas, Pegus, Malayos, Jaos, Chinas and Abexins. Japan is naturally omitted, as the flowery Island in the Far East was then unknown. But eventually even the Japanese were added to the already long list of students, whose number had about the beginning of the 17th century, according to Pyrard de Laval, increased to three thousand. On the arrival of Mestre Francis Xavier at Goa, on the 6th of May 1542, with his two companions, Paulo Camerte and Francisco Mansilha, he was invited to take charge of the college; but the future saint preferring the missionary to the educational work, appointed his companion Camarte to be its Rector along with Pe. Borba. On the death of the latter in 1548 Camerte became the sole superior of the establishment, its revenues being in the meanwhile administered by the members of the confraternity.

It is impossible within the limits of my space to give a full account of the exciting scenes that followed. They would certainly require a volume. The chief promoter of this rising institution was not however, content with the success he had obtained. His ambition was to convert at a stroke as if it were the whole of India under the Portuguese sway. But to undertake such a gigantic task, in spite of the strength of his will and of his extraordinary abilities, it was necessary to have a royal warrant to persecute the heathens and favour the new Christians. At a meeting of the members of the confraternity of the Holy Faith it was at last resolved that Pe. Vaz, armed with a letter from Mestre Francis Xavier to the King, should proceed to Lisbon, and obtain from His Majesty a charter to this effect.

In January 1545, Pe. Vaz embarked for Portugal and returned in October of the following year with a letter from the King, D. João III., to the Viceroy, D. João de Castro, containing ample powers to carry out their mission.

In the meantime the Viceroy had a hard struggle to wage at the siege of Din. The exchequer was nearly empty, and the great Viceroy had to borrow money by pledging the hairs of his own beard.

The news that Pe. Vaz was coming back to India with the consent of the King to persecute the Indians who refused to become

Christians, had already reached Goa and alarmed the civil population, whose trade ran the risk of being ruined by the native merchants leaving the country. One can estimate the state of panic created by the news in the Goa market by the following excerpt from a letter written by the Senate or Municipal Corporation of Goa, on the 27th of December 1546, to the Viceroy:—"The city takes the liberty to remind Your Seigniory (V. S.) that the heathen inhabitants, merchants and villagers (*gamcares*) have contributed to the loan, as we have said before, and we are not surprised that there should be virtuous men there who induced His Highness (the King) to believe that the heathens are worthless, and that it is better they should be turned out of the country."

The allusion in the above letter to virtuous men is evidently to the clerical party who were moving heaven and earth to force the heathens to become Christians. But no material interests could stand in the way of the powerful priests, backed up as they were by the Bishop. They knew well that out of the 20,000 pardaos lent by the city to the Viceroy for the war, half the amount had been subscribed by the non-Christian population. Still no protest was of any avail. The letter from the King was published and became law. It is dated the 8th of March 1546, and is published in Freire's *Vida de Dom João de Castro*, &c., Paris 1869, pp. 48, *et seq.*

The Bishop Albuquerque divided this memorable letter into twenty-five *apontamentos* or memoranda. I give a summary of the more important of them:—

1. It is the duty of Christian Princes to prevent or put a stop in their dominions to the worship of idols.
2. The King has learnt with regret that the heathens are allowed to perform freely their religious ceremonies in his dominions.
4. He commands the idols to be broken to pieces, and the individuals who make the idols to be punished.
6. That the converts be granted privileges of all sorts, among others that of exemption from forced labour.
10. That a Church be built of the invocation of St. Joseph at Bassein at the expense of his Treasury.
12. That from duties paid at the Custom-house 300 *fanegas* (a corn measure) of rice be for ever distributed among the new converts made by the Vicar General Miguel Vaz at Chaul.

18. That protection be afforded under the advice of Mestre Francisco to the trade on the Fishery Coast, avoiding all aggressions and extortions.

21. That he forbid the heathens to make Christian images for sale.

23. That colleges be built for the instruction and religious education of the catechumens, and also for the heathens that the latter may receive the light of the Gospel.

25. That the new Christians be well treated in order to gain their affection.

To Bishop Albuquerque and his co-operators the great task of propagating Christianity in India had now become somewhat easy. Miguel Vaz had already begun to destroy the *pagodas*. In those days the word *pagoda* was used by the Portuguese to denote both the Hindu temple and the idol; and it was in more recent times that the word was confined to the temple alone.

Lucena in his *Vida do Pe. Franc. Xavier*, Liv. II., Cap. 5, says :— "He (Vaz) had the pagodas of the island of Goa pulled down, and caused the public idolatrous worship and superstitions of the heathens to disappear. He had turned out of the country the Bráhmans, who were opposed to the extension of the Faith, and given to new Christians the charges and offices formerly filled up by the heathens, with great prejudice to the cause of conversion. With this object he came to this kingdom, and fortified with a royal rescript returned to India."

About three hundred years later, a dignitary of the church, the late Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, Dom Fr. Francisco de S. Luiz, in the note IX. to his edition of Freire's *Vida*, of 1835, arguing against the authenticity of the royal charter, suspected it of being spurious. He thought it incredible that so prudent a monarch as D. João III should have had recourse to so violent and so revolutionary a measure. He writes :—"We note in it orders so positive and at the same time so violent, and of so difficult and dangerous an execution about the extinction of idolatry and of the heathen rites and feasts in the Eastern lands, subject to the Portuguese, and chiefly inhabited by the Hindus and Mahomedans, that they do not seem in any manner to agree with the great prudence of the King, and with the circumspection he was in the habit of recommending even in objects of less importance and of less interest for the preservation and peace of those States." *Ibid*, p. 324.

But three hundred years had not passed away in vain. The evolution of the idea of humanity, and the progress of civilisation, had in the meantime softened manners, modifying considerably in the very centre of Catholicism the spirit of bigotry. This complex civilisation of the last three centuries, which has been likened to a splendid blend of many rare vintages, could not help marking time by moral progress, as it has by material advantages.

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

For the Portuguese had learnt by sad experience the gloomy effects of the policy of their predecessors, who had created enmity among the Indians, and depopulated their settlements. They were, doubtless, actuated by high motives, but it was nevertheless a blind policy, whose results proved so grievous to their country.

About the middle of the XVIth century, however, quite different ideas prevailed. Bishop D. João Affonso de Albuquerque was only too glad to lay hold of the royal letter and base on it a pastoral (*provisão*) to his clergy recommending the latter to carry out the violent measures sanctioned by the King in the island of Bombay and other dependencies in the province of Bassein.

These three remarkable documents, the royal *alvará* or charter of the 8th of March 1546, the pastoral letter of the Bishop of the 15th of March 1550 and the Viceregal sanction, signed by Francisco Barreto, Captain of Bassein, in the absence of the Viceroy, D. Affonso de Noronha, who was at the time at Cochin, constitute the three *pièces justificatives* of the religious policy adopted in Bombay and the surrounding country about the middle of the XVIth century. And they are very important materials for the religious history of this island. All that had preceded this epoch was confined to mere personal efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, aided by the secular arm of the Viceroys, captains, factors and comptrollers of the Royal Treasury. But now it assumed an official form from the royal sanction.

The Bishop's pastoral runs thus:—"As His Highness (D. João III.) says that he will not allow idolatry in his dominions, and as Bassein and all its islands are situated in that dominion, it is our duty to suppress it there. Besides the royal command, it is my duty as a prelate to strive to destroy idolatry by myself and by the servants of God, to whom I recommend it. I request Padre Belchior Gonçalves and others of the Society of Jesus, and also Padre Vicar Simão Travassos, and the priests of St. Francis to pull down and destroy the pagodas

whereever they are found, whether built, being built, or in repair, for which I give you power and authority. By the duty of my office I am obliged to do all in my power to uproot the sect of Mahomed (*Seita de Maphamede*), and also that of the heathens (*gentilica*), and everything else that is contrary to the Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ. I request Captain Francisco Barretto and the future captains to favour and help me in the best way they can as knights of Jesus Christ and of the King Our Lord." *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. V., Pt. I., pp. 224, *et seq.*

Francisco Barreto, who was Captain of Bassein from the 8th of November 1547, and was eventually raised to Viceroyalty on the 23rd of June 1555, added to the episcopal provision the following order :—"Let this charter of the King our Lord be obeyed with all that it contains."

In the meantime the Franciscans had been in full possession of Bassein and its islands from the year 1534. For long fourteen years they had cultivated that fruitful soil with diligence and gathered a rich harvest. The cave-temples of Kanheri and of Mandaspeśvar had already been invaded and consecrated, their inmates converted or driven out. The Yogis or monks had either become Christians or had fled. The summary proceedings of Fr. Antonio do Porto, Fr. Antonio do Casal and their companions remind one of the well-known *Chanson* de Roland :—

"En la cité n'est resté nul païen
Tous sont occis ou devenus Chrétiens."

In the rock city of Khaneri nobody was killed, but no heathen was left behind, as they had all become Christians or made their escape to the interior.

Like Fr. Antonio do Porto, the apostle of Bassein, Fr. Antonio do Casal, his companion, was a truly remarkable man. He was both a missionary and a soldier, in fact a genuine crusader. According to Gaspar Correa, while at the seige of Diu he was leading his men with a crucifix in the hand, a stray bullet happened to strike, in the thick of the battle, the image, whose arm was dislodged from the cross. Nothing daunted by the untoward accident, Fr. Antonio do Casal addressed his soldiers thus :—"Look, our Lord has detached his hand from the cross to bless the Portuguese and curse the Moors." The effect of this bright little improviso was inspiriting and effective. The soldiers fought bravely and won the battle. Fr. Antonio's martial address was more inspiring, perhaps, than the

famous Napoleonic impromptu vision of forty centuries contemplating from the top of the Pyramids his gallant troops.

It is impossible within the narrow limits of this essay to chronicle all the heroic deeds of the Portuguese missionaries in Bassein and its islands, still less in the East. Although a tiny nation of three millions, who could hardly dedicate to the standard of Christ in India more than a handful of men (supplemented though they were by occasional recruits from Spain, Italy and other countries in Europe); still they raised their country to a pinnacle of fame spreading Christianity far and wide in India, and rearing innumerable temples, some of which are even now in a flourishing condition.

Mr. Danvers in the introduction to his excellent compilation, "*The Portuguese in India*" says:—"A history extending over four hundred years, filled with stirring events of discovery, trade, conquest, and defeat, might well claim a small library to itself for a full account of the events that occurred within that period in connection with the Portuguese and with India." p. xxvii. He does not mention religion. But this subject alone might better claim a big library to itself for a full account of the extraordinary feats of the Portuguese missionaries, their conversions, their struggles, and their martyrdom.

After the pastoral letter of the Bishop Albuquerque had been read in all the churches of the diocese, and especially in those of Bassein, the missionary activity evinced considerable development. Hitherto, only one religious order, that of the Franciscans, had been assiduously working in the "vineyard of the Lord"; but now two more orders joined them, those of the Society of Jesus and of the holy patriarch St. Dominic.

In Bombay, however, the Franciscans always took the lead. They had an hereditary claim to this fruitful field. I have already treated extensively of the martyrs of Thána in my "History of Chaul and Bassein" in 1876, and it is unnecessary to return to this stirring episode. But as new materials have since come to light, I will briefly refer to them. Allusion has already been made in "The Mahomedan Period" to the conquest of this part of the Konkan by the Emperor Mubarik I. in 1318, after the fall of Devgir. His outposts had been extended to the sea, occupying both Máhim near Bombay and Sálsette, whose capital, Thána, was strongly garrisoned. It was governed by a military officer or *malik* and by a religious functionary, who appears also to have been acting as a magistrate, or *kázi*. There was already a small Nestorian community in the town, and they were persecuted

by the Moslems as much as the Hindus. A large number of the pagodas and many Christian churches were turned into mosques and their endowments appropriated. In this respect the Mahomedans set a pernicious example to their successors, the Portuguese, who were not loth to follow it, notwithstanding the policy recommended by Pope Gregory the Great,—not to destroy heathen temples and buildings, but simply to turn them to the service of God.

As early as the thirteenth century the Roman Pontiffs and the French King had interested themselves in the evangelization of the Mogals of Persia. About two hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese in India a band of Franciscan missionaries was despatched to Persia, but finding no countenance there they started for the Coromandel Coast, where there was settled from 1318 a regular mission of Franciscans and Dominicans. While near the coast of Bombay they were driven by the stress of the weather into the Thána creek, where they landed and were slain by the Mahomedans. There are two accounts of the martyrdom by contemporary writers, the Friars Jordanus and Odoric, and the event is also recorded in that interesting chronicle of the Portuguese missions in the East, the *Oriente Conquistado*, by Padre Francisco de Souza. This writer says:—"According to the chronicles of St. Francis, in the year of the Lord 1320, there crossed to Persia, moved by zeal for the conversion of the Persians, four friars Menorites, Fr. Thomas de Tolentino and Fr. Jacome de Padua, priests, and Fr. Demetrio and Fr. Pedro, lay brothers. But as the Persians closed their ears to the truths of the Gospel they went to Ormuz, whence they sailed to the Coromandel Coast. The contrary winds, however, drove them to the bay of Bombay, and over against Thána they were slain because they refused to become Mahomedans. They were buried by Fr. Jordanus of the Order of the Preachers, who was there preaching against the cursed sect of Mafamede (Mahomed), and, because he would not stop preaching, his life was put an end to by Moorish hands with the glorious crown of martyrdom.

"The heathens of the island of Sálsette, edified by the life of this holy missionary, were grieved by his death, and, in order to perpetuate the memory of so remarkable a man, placed his image among their idols. In course of time this pagoda was destroyed and the image was buried underground. After many years a Portuguese fidalgo, by name Antonio de Souza the Langará, began to build a house on the very site of the pagoda, and while digging discovered the image of

Fr. Jordanus, as clean and bright as if just buried. It was of black wood, a span long, with the hands under the scapulary and the caul over half of the head. These events prove that long before our discovery there were religious missionaries here, but when we came to India we ar dly found any vestige of Christianity left by them." *Con.* I., *Div.* I., 18.

In 1534, Fr. Antonio do Porto and his companions were ready to take up the task left incomplete by Fr. Jordanus, to die for the truth, and also, as the chronicler adds, to wreak a noble vengeance by converting the infidel people of Thána, whose ancestors had, two centuries before, like Milton's "bloody Piedmontese," slain their "brothers in Christ;" and they came now exclaiming —

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd Saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd . . . . . "

Fr. Antonio do Porto converted, as we have seen above, the ascetics of the Hindu monasteries, and consecrated the latter to Christian worship. Then close to Mandapeśvar, which had already been dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy (Nossa Senhora da Piedade) erected in 1544 a large seminary for a hundred neophites and a beautiful church, whose picturesque ruins now occupy a prominent place among the Christian remains in this country.

This seminary was supported by the Royal Exchequer, besides the revenue derived from the *aldea de mão de pesar*, as Simão Botelho calls it. This evidently means the village of Mandapeśvar, which he says: "Can yield 60 pardaos a year, which are worth 18,000 reis. The village was granted by the Governor, Jorge Cabral, in the name of His Highness, on account of there being in that village a church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade in a pagoda, which existed there formerly. This grant is for that church as well as for the house and the Christians who live in that village." *Tombo*, pp. 209-210.

The Franciscans, besides the churches above mentioned, had built within 16 years, that is, from the year of the cession of Bassein to the middle of the 16th century, not less than 12 churches, and made many thousands of converts. D. Antonio da Porto alone is credited with having converted not less than 10,156 Indians. The Franciscans had further destroyed 205 pagodas.

In 1557 they laid the foundation of their church and convent of St. Anthony at Bassein, to which the King made an annual contribution of 1,272 xerafins, besides one from a private individual of 100 xerafins (*Gab. de Fon.* 1, 60). During the following half-century these

religious buildings had nearly doubled. In Thána a convent and a church, also dedicated to St. Anthony, had been built in 1582, the corner-stone of the edifice being laid by the Archbishop, D. Henrique de Tavora, who had come from Goa on a visit to this province. (*Vergel de Plantas*, etc., p. 71.)

By the end of the century the Franciscans had in Bassein alone 1 convent and 4 *reitorias* or parish churches; in Sálsette 1 college and 11 churches; in Bombay 4 churches; in Karanja 1 college, 1 church and 1 chapel of pilgrimage (*ermida de romagem*), not to mention their numerous convents and churches and seminaries at Chaul, Damán, Cochin, etc. (See Lucena's *Vida do Pe. Fran. Xavier.*)

Next to the Franciscans came the Jesuits to Bassein in 1542. St. Francis Xavier visited this city three times, once in 1544, and twice in 1548, and it was during his last visit in December 1548 that he founded the college called of the "Holy Name of God" to which the Government granted half the amount of the revenue which the mosques used formerly to receive for their lighting. This sum was originally granted by the Portuguese Government to the church and convent of the Franciscans in Bassein, who were known under the designation of the "priests of the conversion of the faith," but with the arrival of the Jesuits at Bassein the revenue was equally divided between the two orders.

Simão Botelho refers to it thus:— "To the priests of the conversion of the faith 2,070 pardaos for each year, which sum is worth 621,000 reis. This money was formerly granted to mosques for oil. The King our Lord ordered that it be granted to the priests for the purpose of conversion. It was given for two or three years to the fathers of St. Francis, who came here first, and as they were soon followed by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, the grant was divided by half (*partiram a esmola pelo méo*), and now they give one half to each of them." *Tombo*, p. 209. The Franciscan churches in the islands of Bombay were four, *viz.*, the one on the Esplanade, with its cemetery, just where the Elphinstone High School is now situated, and also a cross that about thirty years ago was standing just parallel to the one still extant on the other side of the Esplanade, near Marine Lines. The second was at Parel, eventually changed into the Government House, and now into a Plague Hospital. The third was built at Máhim, now called Upper Máhim, and dedicated to St. Michael. And the fourth was situated at Dadar or Lower Máhim, of the invocation of Our Lady of Salvation. The other Roman Catholic churches and

chapels on the island of Bombay are of a later date, and to them I shall refer hereafter during my treatment of the British Period.

The foundation and development of this extensive Christian mission in Bombay and its neighbourhood is ascribed by all chroniclers, both lay and clerical, to the piety and munificence of the King, D. João III. Fr. Sebastião Gonçalves in his *Chronica da companhia de Jesus* II., p. 753, says :—"Throughout all these transmarine lands of his conquests, the King D. João III. ordered churches to be built, providing them with good pastors, ornaments, silver and lands (from the revenue of which the repairs were made and the maintenance of the churches was kept up) without looking to the cost."

Besides the Franciscan and Jesuit institutions there was in Bassein the beautiful cathedral of St. Joseph, built at the expense of the State Treasury, as recommended by the King in one of the clauses of the royal charter of the 8th of March 1546, which I have already quoted briefly. Attached to the cathedral, there were a prior and four chaplains (*beneficiados*); all their expenses, which amounted to a considerable sum, being defrayed by the Royal Exchequer. (*Tombo*, p. 208 *et seq.*) The ruins of this cathedral with its lofty steeple are still visible, and an illustration of this handsome pile of buildings will be found in my "History and Antiquities of Bassein."

With regard to the sum of money drawn from the Royal Treasury for the use of "the priests of the conversion of the faith" (*padres da conversão da fé*), as Simão Botelho calls them, that sum being formerly, during the Mohamedan rule, spent in the purchase of oil for mosques, and now applied to the support of these Christian missions, there is some difference between the accounts of the old Comptroller of the Treasury at Bassein and of the Jesuit chronicler, Padre Francisco de Souza, who writes :—"From Goa Xavier sailed to Bassein. . . . He took with him Padre Belchior Gonçalves and the lay brother Luis Frois and left them on this occasion at Bassein. When the Vicar-General of India, Miguel Vaz, went to Portugual he asked His Most Serene King, D. João, three thousand pardaos in gold in order to found a seminary at Bassein and to feed with the milk of the evangelical doctrine the children of the native Christians of the land. This petition was favourably despatched by the liberal King with the intention, as they then said, of entrusting the administration of the revenue of the seminary to the hands of the Society (of Jesus). But Miguel Vaz taking to Bassein the Franciscans who had come from Portugal with him, appointed them administrators of the new seminary, which was at the

same time the house of the catechumens. The Saint now spoke to these monks, especially to Fr. Antonio do Porto, of the Province of the Piedade, their superior, who, noticing that they were so few in number, asked repeatedly for some one of the Society both to govern the seminary and to administer its revenues. The latter consisted of three thousand pardaos in gold (each worth three hundred and sixty reis), accorded to Miguel Vaz in Portugal, which sum, according to the treaty between Sultán Bahádur, king of Cambay, and the Crown of Portugal, was formerly destined to the mosques of the Moors. The Saint thought it right to divide the work and the revenues between both the Religious, Franciscans and Jesuits, when Padre Belchior Gonçalves with the brother Luis Frois took possession of the Seminary of Bassein, and the Franciscans founded another at Manapacer (Mandapeśvar)." *Conq.* I., *Div* I., *para.* 48.

The version of Simão Botelho, evidently better informed in the matter as *vêdor da fazenda*, or Comptroller of the Royal States, seems to be preferable to that of the Jesuit chronicler. The *Tombo* was, moreover, written in 1554, while the *Oriente Conquistado* although written in 1697, was not issued until 1710, the difference in date causing naturally some alteration in the circumstantial narrative of the event.

The residence or convent of the Jesuits at Bassein was begun on the 24th of October 1549 by Belchior or Melchior Gonçalves, with the assistance of the governor Jorge Cabral. (*Ibid*, para. 55.) And in January 1551 a church dedicated to the Mother of God (*Madre de Deus*), was built by the same missionary, as well as a seminary for the Christian education of the natives in the town of Thána. (*Ibid.*, para. 57.) Fr. Gonçalves is known in the religious history of India as the Apostle of Cambay. He was taken ill, soon after, having been poisoned by the heathens, who hated him for his evangelical preaching. He died on the 6th of October following, having received the sacraments from the hands of Fr. Gaspar Barzeo, who was at the time in Bassein on his way from Ormuz to Goa.

Francis Xavier then sent Padre Mestre Belchior Nunes to Bassein with the novice Manuel Teixeira, and Padre Gonçalo Rodrigues to Thána. In the same year Xavier received a deputation from Chaul requesting him to establish a college in that city. But, as at that time he had only thirty missionaries at his disposal, he could not comply with the request. Later on, however, a college and a church were built there, and also a chapel, to commemorate the residence of

St. Francis Xavier in Chaul during his travels along the coast. The ruins of the building are still in a fair state of preservation. (*See* the History and Antiquities of Chaul, p. 102.)

In the month of October 1553 Fr. Gaspar Barzeo died in Goa, and brother Aleixo Dias was immediately sent to Bassein to invite Padre Mestre Belchior Nunes to take up his place as Rector and Vice-Provincial.

The next event in the religious annals of Bombay is the foundation of the Christian village of the Trindade in the island of Sálsette. In 1548 the 18th Governor, Francisco Barreto, the gallant conqueror of the Forts of Asseri and Manorá, was informed that Sultán Husein (Uzen), son of Burhan or Nizam-ul-Mulk (Nizamaluco) of Ahmednagar had, on the death of his father, imprisoned the Portuguese Ambassador at his Court with his family, and was sending a large army to fortify the Morro of Chaul (Khorle). Barreto wanted to oppose him, but, having neither men nor money, was obliged to beg of Fr. Gonçalo da Silveira to help him.

Thus, as early as the middle of the 16th century, the priestly influence in India had become far more prominent than either the civil or the military. Fr. Silveira preached from the pulpit a crusade against Husein with such good success that an army, duly provisioned with ammunition, victuals and stores, soon set sail for Chaul, drove the enemy back and made an honourable peace. The Governor grateful to Fr. Silveira, who had himself accompanied the expedition, for this good result, placed an annual endowment of 1,500 patacoens from the Royal Treasury at the disposal of the Society of Jesus, in order that they might apply it to the development and extension of the new Christianity in Sálsette, where already Padre Mestre Gonçalo Rodrigues, superior of the Jesuits of Thána, was carrying on his missionary operations. And the register of the revenue-accounts of the time mentions the fact of this sum being applied to the support of the newly converted Christians.

Having this liberal subsidy in his gift, the Fr. Superior conceived this project of founding a Christian village, far away from "the contamination of the vicious habits of the infidels, and from their diabolical ceremonies." For this purpose he chose, about a league distant from Thána, a place close to a sumptuous pagoda, with beautifully carved figures, among others "their false and monstrous Trinity which the heathens used to worship."

This pagoda was situated in a richly wooded and well-watered valley, with three fountains around, and three tanks "for the superstitious ablutions of pilgrims, who used to assemble there from the whole Cambay and from Kanara to the great profit of their priests, the Bráhmans. And Fr. Gonçalo Rodrigues soon formed the design to turn out of the nest these birds of prey." He bought the ground and divided it into several holdings. "In a few years there was a population of 3,000, all neophytes and poor, who lived by their labour, without there being a single idle person among them." They had 100 bullocks and ploughs, and an ample store of field tools, all held in common. The Christian villagers received religious instruction every day, and in the evening joined in singing the Christian doctrine, and could soon teach their own old parents. Some time after the neighbouring Hindu temple came into the possession of the Christian villagers, who would not allow the heathens to perform their ceremonies there; while the Hindus themselves considered the place profaned since the Christians had planted so many crosses all round. The idol was broken into pieces, the temple enlarged and dedicated to "the Holy Trinity, Triune in Person, but one in essence," and the whole village came in course of time to be known by the name of the Blessed Trinity. The devil, jealous of the Christians, did what he could to mar their success. He appeared there often, frightened the people, and some of them became possessed. And the evil spirits would not be easily exorcised until they had been well whipped out with scourges, which is "an excellent remedy for curbing stubborn demons." The place was unfortunately unhealthy, and the village had to be moved up to a higher site. The idolaters around saw with astonishment a body of 3,000 Christians living in community in such an enviable union among themselves as if the whole village was but one family. "Everything there was innocence, and simplicity of manners; no greedy traffic, no insolent wealth. There was no admission there for any except those who could work with their own hands; not even for any of the old Christians, who would be an impediment to the observance of the law of Christ." *Oriente Conquistado, Pt.* I., *Con.* I., *Div.* II., *para.* 32.

As late as 1697, when the *Oriente Conquistado* was written, this Christian village, a Platonic republic in miniature, was still flourishing. But about forty years later, when the Maráthas captured Sálsette, it was entirely abandoned. It was situated near the beautiful village of Vehár or Clarabad. The magnificent remains of that church and

college are still visible, as well as those of the huge orphanage, which was built from the stones of the Hindu temple, dedicated to the Trimúrti, and called the Orphanage of the Blessed Trinity. The foundation of a communistic village in the centre of Sálsette in the 16th century of our era is, indeed, an event worth recording. But mankind is not yet sufficiently advanced to realize the efforts of an Utopia of this kind. Rabelais's kingdom of Gargantua is yet far off. Let Christian socialists of the day take note of the success and subsequent failure of the Christian village of the Blessed Trinity in the vicinity of Bombay. It may yet teach them many useful lessons, such as the Portuguese learned by their own experience in a remote corner of India.

But these are not the only remains of Christian colleges and orphanages in Sálsette. There are still standing in their lonely but picturesque grandeur, the already mentioned ruins of the Royal College and Seminary over the Mandapeśvar caves; and the remains on the south bank of the Church Lake, near the Buddhist caves of Kondivti, of a Christian building, which appears to have been mainly built from stones, some of them finally carved, from an old Brahmanic temple of the twelfth century in its neighbourhood. Then there are the splendid remains of the Yeraugal building, with a large vaulted church of the Holy Magi, as well as the ruins of the churches of Trombay and of Karanja. The reader, who desires to know their past history and their present condition, will find them in more or less detail as they were about a quarter of a century ago, in my "History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein." This little group of islands is not only rich with some of the most remarkable Buddhist and Brahmanic monuments, but also of the most interesting Christian remains, though less ancient and durable. For while the relics of heathen faith have been hewn out of the living rock, those of a proselytising Christian Church have mostly been built of the more perishable materials—bricks and mortar.

But to return to the missionary labours of Fr. Gonçalo da Silveira. Soon after the foundation of the Christian village of the Blessed Trinity he found that there were at Thána some persons willing to sell their children to the Moors either from greed or from poverty. The good missionary went at once to this infants' slave-market and purchased all the children he could get. "Their price varied according to age, a baby being at that time worth as much as a kid in

Portugal. The priest was in the habit of visiting the villages all round Bassein and Thána, hunting after this merchandise, and thus buying up a large number of children. He was very glad to purchase even dying children from the greater hope of their passing immediately from the baptismal font to the paradise. He gave one day for three children three tangas and a half which are 210 reis (about 6 annas), and from the hands of the priest who baptised them, they ascended happy to Heaven. He used to bring the infidel orphans up to the age of 14 years, from all parts of the district, according to the law of Francisco Barreto already made public, and thus he baptised in Thána alone in little more than three years between five and six thousand souls." *Ibid., Pt. I., Con. I., Div. II., para.* 33.

Then he converted an octagenarian mountaineer, who had come to be baptised and died happy. Regarding the law promulgated by the Governor Francisco Barreto about the orphans, subsequent reference will be made; for it was a matter of great controversy. In the meantime as early as 1564 the Portuguese missionaries had made great progress in Bassein, Sálsette and the other islands. About 1560, like the Emperor Akbar some years later, the King of Bíjápur (Ibrahim Adil Sháh), had sent an envoy to the Viceroy, D. Contantino de Bragança, requesting him to despatch to his Court some learned priests to dispute about religion with his Kázis. Two priests were selected for this purpose, a Dominican Fr. Antonio Pegado and a Jesuit Fr. Gonçalo Rodrigues. The result of this debate was that the Kázis appealed to "their ill-founded law which teaches them to defend the Korán with the lance in hand and not with reasons and arguments." However, the Adil Sháh, on bidding them farewell, gave to the two priests embroidered silk dresses (*cabaias de brocado*) before they left his Court and the religious dispute was thus pleasantly brought to an end. Fr. Rodrigues presented his dress to the college of Bassein, and spent the rest of his active life in Thána, increasing daily the number of his converts. *Ibid, Pt. II., Con. I., Div. I., para.* 5.

The next event in the religious annals of Bombay is the serious skirmish fought by the Jesuits of Bassein against the Hindus in order to prevent the bathing of the latter in the creek, in celebration of their *Gokula Aṣṭhami*, a feast that is observed yearly in Bombay without any let or hindrance, by thousands of Hindus of the lower classes to their great joy and contentment. The description of this interesting event, which took place near Sálsette in August 1564,

is too long to be inserted here, and a short summary must suffice. It is worth remarking, however, that the author of that most estimable work, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo*, &c., while stating that the missionaries of his Society were advised to follow the spirit of the maxim—*circa finem fortiter, circa media suaviter*, as expressed by Padre Antonio de Quadros to the General of the Order, Padre Diogo Laynez. (*Ibid., Pt. II., Con. I., Div. I., para.* 54), records many instances in which they appear to have been actuated by rather opposite views. But the times were different, and it is therefore unfair to judge by the standard of our age the policy then pursued by the proselytising priests.

These minute details of the religious annals of Bombay in the 16th century may appear wearisome. But one of the early British historians of India, Alexander Dow, says:—"Though history loses half its dignity in descending to unimportant particulars, when she brings information, she cannot fail, even in her most negligent dress to please." The little known episodes of the Portuguese missionaries in Bombay and the adjacent islands, their triumphs and their defeats, cannot be other than interesting, nor fail to please.

They form a curious and interesting record—these grim comedies and even sombre tragedies in the ranks of grave Ministers of the altar, whom the world is accustomed to revere especially when, draped in their venerable *soutanes* and *barrettes*, their cowls and cassocks. The Jesuits of Bassein, Sálsette and Bombay, who in 1548 had begun their humble career, of "priests of the conversion of the faith," in co-operation with the monks of St. Francis, living on the moiety of the sum formerly devoted to the purchase of oil for the Mosques, had now grown rich, powerful, worldly and somewhat spectacular. The saintly Fr. Pedro Ramires, a Castilian, the learned Rector of their College at Goa, had been constrained to declare in 1565 that the Society of Jesus in India was striving more to serve the eyes than to please God, *magis ad oculum servire, quam Deo placere. Ibid., Pt. II., Con. I., Div. I., para.* 11.

In the year 1560 the residence of the Society of Jesus in Bassein was elevated to the category of a college, which after the separation of the Southern province, became the second in that of Goa. The King, D. Sebastião was considered to be its founder, but there were many among the nobility of the land who were its benefactors. A rich widow by name Izabel de Aguiar, who was a *foreira* or proprietress

of three villages, had endowed the college with one of them during her life, and with the rest at her death, which took place on the 24th of January 1591. She was born in Portugal but had spent many years at Ormuz, where she happened to meet the celebrated Fr. Gaspar Barzeo. He brought her over with him to Bassein, got her well married, and when she died in the odour of sanctity, she was buried in the sanctuary of the Church attached to the College. A flattering epitaph, engraven on a marble slab, was placed over her grave, as a token of gratitude from the Society to her memory, and the famous Father General, Claudius Aquaviva, ordered the whole Society to perform suffrages for her soul, as was customary with the founders of colleges. The epitaph is still extant, in a good state of preservation, and the inscription is quite legible. (See *History and Antiquities of Bassein*, p. 237.)

Like Izabel there were many other ladies and citizens of Bassein who had left to the college large legacies. Among these there were some villages at Bandora, and the villages of Parel, Sion, Matunga and Vadála in Bombay, which were afterwards confiscated by the British, as we shall learn hereafter. Some of the bequests were for the Bassein Church, which became the richest of all the churches of the Society of Jesus in India.

This church was originally dedicated to "Our Lady," whose feast was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity on the 8th of September. But from the year 1568 the Father General, Everardo Mercuriano, changed its invocation, at the instance of Fr. Manuel Teixeira to that of the "Name of Jesus." The image of the Blessed Virgin, which had hitherto occupied the high altar, was now transferred to a lateral altar, and Fr. Francisco Cabral, with the help of other priests and brothers, worked assiduously and added to the buildings, which were amongst the chief ornaments of the once splendid city of Bassein.

Besides the Church and College in the city, they had at both the *caçabé* and suburbs of the town three other churches, the most ancient being that of St. Thom', and those of N. S. da Graça and of St. Miguel. And their number increased considerably during the course of the 16th and 17th centuries. (*Ibid., Pt. II., Con. I., Div. II., para.* 64.) But amidst their great success, fame and opulence, the members of the Society of Jesus in Bassein were not quite happy. Their wily rivals, the Bráhmans, were constantly instigating their converts to recant and to return to their ancestral faith. Many were

the expedients resorted to for this purpose, but the most irritating to the Jesuit priests was the annual jubilee of general baptism in the water of the sea or rivers. This general bathing (*lavatorio geral*) took place once a year in the last quarter of the moon in the month of August (*dia do quarteirão depois da Lua cheia de Agosto.*) It was named by the Jesuit missionaries of Bassein Goclâ Astame, which we now with our pedantic system of romanization write Gokula Asthami.

The Bráhmans used to impress on the mind of the new Christians that a bath in the river on such a festive occasion in the Hindu calendar was far more efficient to purify one's sins than all the lustrations even of the Christians' purgatory. Such an opinion was simply scandalous. The priests of the Church of the Name of Jesus, provoked by such blasphemous language, tried at first to prevent the sacred ablutions of the Hindus by planting crosses all along the banks of the Bassein creek down to the Thâna river and even as far as Bombay. But nothing could stop the jubilar baptism, as the Hindus shifted yearly from one place to another. Lastly, the Bráhmans chose a lake two leagues distant from the city; and now let the Jesuit chronicler himself describe the sitê and narrate the event in his own words:—"Getting tired of changing places the Bráhmans at last sought purposely a position about two leagues distant from the city. On the side of a rock there was a cavity and close to it a little lake surrounded by trees which looked very pretty. Here they built various chapels with their altars and idols, and round the lake built some stone steps, as they usually do in their tanks, in order to reach down to the water safely. Above the arch of the cave there was a tree hanging over the lake, as if the devil had planted it there for the last act of that infernal ceremony. The penitents considered most famous used to go up that tree and amidst the acclamations of the populace let themselves perpendicularly into the lake to be drowned, and to be afterwards counted among their saints. So ignorant has the devil made these heathens that under the water he carries them straight to the eternal fire."

The Hindus thought that this quiet and solitary lake was absolutely free from the persecutions of the Jesuits and the planting of their crosses. But they were soon deceived. Fr. Christovão da Costa, much annoyed with the pertinacity of the heathens, complained bitterly against them to the Captain of Bassein, who immediately ordered a body of 50 musqueteers and 50 horsemen, besides some noblemen, to

march forthwith to the lake, and disperse the mob of bathers. The troops went up to the lake, firing on the way their muskets in the air, and crying "let these dogs die," *morram estes cães*. The moment the Hindus caught sight of the soldiers, being seized with sudden fear, they fled leaving behind their clothes and banners with idols painted on them. Only one man, a Yogi or ascetic, remained quite unmoved and quite imperturbable. He was dressed like St. John the Baptist in the desert, the only difference being that his skin covering was that of a tiger. But he spoke Portuguese, and placing himself fearlessly in front of the soldiers protested that he was simply imitating St. John the Baptist. He was a Portuguese renegade. This took place in August 1564. (*Ibid., Pt. II., Con. I., Div. I., para.* 9.)

Thus the Jesuits, who had gone to the lake to convert the Hindus to Christianity, found instead a Christian converted to Hinduism—singular *dénoûment* to so much misdirected missionary zeal. But Fr. Christovão da Costa was not to be balked of his purpose by this incident. He demolished the temple round the lake, broke up the altars and reduced their idols to dust. He killed a cow, sprinkled its blood all over the lake, and scattered its flesh over the surrounding ground. Then with his battalion of musqueteers and the squadron of cavalry he returned jubilant to the College of the Name of Jesus, to sing perhaps a *Te Deum*, for the signal victory he had won over Gokula Aṣṭhami. The chronicler of this hazardous expedition to the lake of Krishna's festival heads his description of the curious episode thus :—"They put an end in Bassein to the bathing of heathenism (*Acabam em Baçaim os lavatorios da gentilidade*.") But since its abandonment at Bassein the religious bathing of the Bráhmans has been revived in Bombay, where the function of the sacred ablutions is carried on every year without any difficulty or cause of scandal to any one; they merely help the "great unwashed" to look cleaner, at least once a year.

The next fact chronicled in the *Oriente Conquistado* in Bassein is the conversion of a great Hindu mathematician and astrologer, in 1565, called Procuniochi, which sounds more like a modern Greek name. His baptism was a most solemn festivity witnessed by the whole Christian population of Bassein. The Portuguese of Bassein, as well as the viceroys and archbishops, now undertook to present dresses to the catechumens, a practice that was continued as late as the end of the seventeenth century. Procuniochi took at his baptism the name of Henrique, and then lived and died happy. (*Ibid., para.* 12.)

In 1570, after the visit of Fr. Alexander Valignano, it was settled

between the Society of Jesus and the Archbishop of the diocese that the rural churches should be entrusted to the care of the secular clergy. Most of the churches built by them in Bassein were thus made over to the curates, including even the latest, that of Palurte, of the invocation of Santiago, renewed by Fr. Jorge da Costa in 1562, the year in which an extraordinary comet made its appearance. The church of Máhim-Khelve, not built by the Jesuits, but handed over to them by the inhabitants of that town in 1566, was also transferred to the secular clergy some time after.

It appears that the Christian village of the Trindade and its management was also for a while confided to secular priests, but without any success. Fr. Francisco de Souza writes:—"Our priests re-returned to take charge of the church and seminary of the Trindade, and soon captured and drove away all the masters of the heathen superstition, and began to instruct those Christians with so much diligence as if they were newly converted." *Ibid., Pt. II., Con. I., Div. II., para.* 10. Thus most of the churches were again restored to the parochial care of the Jesuits, among others the church of St. Thomé near Bassein. And in the year 1570 the church of Bandora in the island of Sálsette was founded; which was both a parish church and a residence of the Society.

In 1578, the Jesuits converted two villages in the island of Sálsette, the number of converts during the year being about 10,000. (*Ibid., para.* 31.) In the same year the Church of St. João Baptista of Condotim (Kondoti) in Sálsette was finished, its dedication being celebrated with a solemn baptism of 500 adults on the day of the Holy Precursor, to the great chagrin of the heathens, and envy of the devil. (*Ibid., para.* 42.)

The Jesuit mission of Chaul was founded in 1580. The principal benefactors of this mission were the Kings of Portugal. In 1607 there were seven missionaries there, receiving at first more than 500 cruzados a year from the custom-house revenue, but now changed to seven larins a day, each larin being worth 90 reis. They had a church, a residence, and a school attended by 300 children. The Viceroy D. Francisco Marcarenhas gave them 2,000 pardaos for their church, which was dedicated to the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. Several other pious persons gave them large contributions, and the Captain of Chaul, D. Fernando de Castro, presented them from Evora a valuable library. (*Ibid., para.* 51.)

In the year 1580, Fr. F. de Souza writes:—"There were cruis-

ing about the point of Bombaim two *parós* (*paddo*, a small trading vessel) of the Malabar Moors. D. Fernando de Castro (Captain of Chaul), having heard of them sent four vessels under the command of Matheus Gomide against the pirates. Gomide returned the next morning with one *paró*, new, very long and beautiful, with 23 prisoners, among whom was the Moorish Captain. The rest of the crew threw themselves in the water, and availing themselves of the darkness of the night fled to land. The prisoners were all sentenced to death; six died without anybody asking if they would exchange the Muçáfo (Korán) for the Gospel." This forgetfulness caused some annoyance, but the Captain and the remaining 16 prisoners were converted the same year. They baptised in Bassein 80 persons, as many at Thána, and about 2,000 fishermen with their families at Bandora, "which was a fine cast of a net for the bark of St. Peter." (*Ibid., para.* 52.)

Ten years before, on the 13th of December 1570, ten galleys of the Malabar pirates had entered the Bombay bay (*a barra de Bombaim*) and landed at Thána, while the people were at their prayers in the church of the Jesuits. This invasion was so sudden that the people had to fortify themselves in the church and college. The pirates pillaged the houses of the Moors and Hindus, took away the bell of the Cathedral (Matriz) and returned five days after, when Heitor de Mello, who had come to the College with reinforcements from Bassein, beat them back, leaving many among the dead. (*Ibid., para.* 19.)

In 1582, again, they baptised 200 persons at Bassein, and 120 at Thána. In 1584 two noble Mahomedans were baptised at Bassein, 130 persons at Thána, and 300 at Bandora.

In 1585, a rich Bráhman seeing the infant Jesus poorly clad in the *præsepium*, divided his whole fortune between his wife, who was an old woman, and a daughter, and left the cares of this world devoting the rest of his life to the service of the Church. (*Ibid., para.* 107.)

Thus, after the order of the Franciscans, who were the first missionaries in Bombay, had settled on the island from 1534, the Jesuits followed in 1548. It may perhaps be necessary to remark here, that the order of St. Francis was soon after the death of its founder divided into two distinct congregations of conventuals and observantines. It is to the latter class that the Bassein mission belonged. About the middle of the 17th century, between 1561 and 1567, a reformed congregation of the Franciscans, called Zacolanti or Recollects in Italy, Cordeliers in France and wrongly named Capuchos or Capuchins in Portugal, built their own convent of the

"Mother of God" in Goa, but their field of mission was confined to Damán, Diu and Macao in China. Next to the Jesuits came the monks of St. Dominic soon after 1548. The Dominicans had sailed early to India as fleet chaplains with the Admiral Vasco da Gama, and also after the conquest of Goa; but they did not establish a regular convent at Goa until 1548. They had also their convents in the neighbouring towns of Bassein, Tarapur, Karanja and Chaul.

The foundation of the Dominican mission in India was initiated by the eminent theologian, Fr. Diogo Bermudes, the intimate friend of Garcia da Orta and of Simão Botelho. In 1545 he originated at Lisbon in his own province a private association named *Congregaçaõ Oriental das Indias*, whose aim was to send missionaries to the East. He came out to India in 1548 with twelve companions, who soon extended their operations from India to Africa, to Malacca and to the island of Timor in the Eastern Archipelago. He founded the convent and church of St. Dominic at Goa in April 1550, which took not less than fourteen years to complete. Simão Botelho, who, after serving the King for twelve years as Comptroller of the treasury, professed in the Dominican Order in 1553, gave every help in his power to raise this magnificent building, whose great columns of black stone were in 1843 used for the structure of the monument built at Pangim in honour of Affonso de Albuquerque.

Diogo Bermudes is a figure olympian in dignity, and a name which carries with it even now a certain amount of veneration such as one feels for the early Fathers of the Church. Like St. Chrysostom in Antioch he used to rebuke from the pulpit the dissolute manners of the period; he preached against the harsh treatment of the slaves, and the insidious invasion of laxity in the conduct of the clergy. During his tours of inspection to the convents of his order in Chaul and Bassein he often landed at Bombay on a visit to Garcia da Orta, whose manor house, surrounded by spacious pleasure grounds, contained a retreat, where the opulent physician held a literary court, which mirrored the versatile workings of his mind. Here they discussed theology and natural history, establishing thereby a bond between religion and science, and thus contributing to the adjustment, so essential in our own time, of the antithesis so needlessly maintained hitherto between these, the two highest spheres in which the mind of man can exercise itself.

And between religion and science art sent her own representative to this academic gathering in the groves of Bombay in no less a

person than in Luiz de Camoens from the neighbouring city of Chaul, where the great poet held, according to the Viscount of Juromenha, the post of *Vedôr das obras*, or Inspector of Public Works. Camoens arrived in India in the September of the year 1553. In Goa he long remained inactive, and after spending some time there went to Macao in China, where he held the office of *Provedôr dos pefunctos*, or Commissary for the effects of deceased persons. He left Goa in 1556 and returned in 1561. After this he must have held the appointment of Inspector of Public Works at Chaul, and after sixteen years in the East he sailed back to Portugal with his friend Heitor da Silveira. During his visits to the lord of the manor of Bombay, he must have observed the beauty and felt the charm of "The Island of the Good Life" (A ilha da boa vida) and conceived the enchanting allegory of "The Isle of Loves" (A ilha dos Amores). In the time of Garcia da Orta, Diogo Bermudes and Luiz de Camoens learning was a true ministry, a priesthood. Unlike the modern tendency to level up knowledge by levelling down riches, which breaks up tradition, producing as a result of fierce competition, in the words of Taine, "only mediocrities and monstrosities," their time witnessed the love of genuine and disinterested knowledge, and works of undying fame and of perpetual benefit to mankind. Fully absorbed in the solution of the great problems of the world they eschewed polemics of any kind and trivial social occurrences which cannot affect the course of events. The Portuguese Empire in the East was to them, like all colonial empires, a pyramid with the base upwards.

Next to the order of St. Dominic came the monks of St. Augustine in the year 1572. They founded their convents of Nossa Senhora da Annunciação at Bassein and of Nossa Senhora da Graça at Thána. They had a convent of the same invocation at Chaul, and a parish Church of Nossa Senhora das Mercês at Bassein, erected with a provision of the Archbishop Primate, Frei Aleixo de Menezes, while he was at Bassein, on the 22nd of December 1606.

The last religious order to settle at Bassein, about 1685, was that of lay-brothers of St. John of God. They had in their charge the "Misericordia" and the Hospital.

There was also a religious establishment for females at Bassein, although not a regular nunnery. The convent of the Nuns in Goa, of the invocation of St. Monica, was originally founded, with the help of the eminent Archbishop Menezes, by two ladies from Thá-

na, but of this I shall treat more at length hereafter. A village near the Khaneri caves, called Deins, belonged to these nuns. The female institute of Bassein, called *Recohlimento de donzellas*, or "Retreat for girls," implied no religious vow.

In the *Historia de S. Domingos* III., Liv. 2, C. 8 it is recorded that on the 17th of May 1618 a most furious hurricane swept over the whole group of islands from Bombay to Agasi, devastating the country, uprooting trees, and throwing down buildings. Thirty-five churches suffered great damages from this storm. Out of them fifteen churches belonged to the Franciscans, seven to the Jesuits, three to the Dominicans, two to the Augustinians and eight to the secular clergy. It was, however, observed at the time as a marvellous fact that all the sanctuaries (*sacrarios do S S. Sacramento*) were left intact. In order to appease the wrath of God many prayers were said, gorgeous processions were undertaken, and both public and private penances performed in these islands and in the other cities, especially Goa and Cochin.

But happily all this was a mere temporary evil. Dismantled steeples were soon built up, and the unroofed churches were in a very short time covered over. But in the meanwhile a more terrible hurricane, a more severe tempest was brewing in the counting-houses and the factories at Surat. It was a greater misfortune because it was the work of man, almost always less benevolent than the work of Nature. *Homo homini lupus.* The natural phenomenon of a hurricane was an infliction from nature; the tempest plotted at Surat by human greed was an affliction from man. The former was temporary in its effects, the latter lasting in its results. In the present instance it proved to be the fatal harbinger of the decay of the Portuguese nation, which hastened through it to its fall, never to rise again.

Six years after the hurricane a plot was being contrived at Surat by the British and the Dutch together to make a descent upon the coast of Bombay, to seize it, and drive the Portuguese out of the island.

In 1625 the Court of Directors of the East India Company proposed that the Company should take Bombay. (Bruce's *Annals*, I 273.) In consequence of this proposal in the beginning of the year 1626 the English in Surat suggested to the Dutch a joint occupation of the island. But the Dutch appear for some reason to have declined to act, and the scheme was nearly abandoned. In October 1626, however, a joint force of the Dutch and English landed

suddenly at Bombay, burned the Great House and Castle and withdrew without making any attempt to retain possession of the island.

Among the ships' *Journals*, preserved in the Records Department of the India Office, there are three following notes :—"1626. Oct. 15. In the morning stood in and anchored and landed of the English and the Dutch some 400 men at the least and took the Fort, and Castle and the Town, and set fire to it and all the town, and all the houses thereabout, the people being all run away that night, and did carry away all the best commodities leaving nothing but trash. Oct. 16. In the morning we set sail." This is from Andrew Warden's *Journal* in "the William."

The second runs thus:—"1626. Oct. 13. This 13th day we and the whole fleet both of English and Dutch went into Bombay and came to an anchor in 9 fathoms, one point bearing W. N. W., *p.* compass, the other S. S. W.; the one 3 miles off, the other 3 leagues off; this was in the entrance of the harbour.

"Oct. 14. This day we went with the whole fleet in further, near a small town or village, where there were Portuguese. We anchored and rode a mile off, in 6 fathoms, one point *p.* compass bearing W. S. W. 5 miles off, the other S. @ b W., some 5 leagues off. We came so near the Town with two of our ships that we drove them all away with our great ordnance, *viz.*, the Morrice of the English, and the Mauritius of the Dutch. In safety we landed our men on shore, who pillaged the Town, and set their houses all on fire with their Fort near the water side. Yes, we staid there the 15th day doing all the spoil that possibly we could, but we got nothing to speak of but victuals. So when we had done all the harm we could, the 15th day in the evening we got our men aboard leaving the Town on fire, and the 16th day in the morning, when the wind came of shore, we weighed anchor, and went to the sea again." This is from John Vian's *Journal* in "the Discovery."

The third says:—"1626. Oct. 13. The 13th we went into the Bay and Road without the stakes, as you may see in the draft following. (This is a very poor sketch map of Bombay Harbour, which is quite a puzzle.) The 14th the Moris and two Dutch ships went in near the Great House to batter against it, in which battery two of the Moris's ordnance split. The same day we landed 300 men English and Dutch and burnt all their citizens' houses and took the Great House with two basses (the smallest kind of cannon) of brass and one saker (a denomination of cannon) of iron. The 15th all our men embarked

aboard the ships, being Sunday in the evening, and left the Great House which was both a warehouse, a priory and a fort, all afire burning with many other good houses together with two new frigates not yet from the stocks nor fully ended. But they had carried away all their treasure and all things of any value, for all were run away before our men landed." This is from David Davies' *Journal* in "the Discovery." Sir G. Birdwood's *Report, etc.*, Lond. 1891, pp., 214–215. I have taken the liberty to modernise their 17th century English.

This strange and unprovoked invasion of the island of Bombay by the combined Dutch and English fleet from Surat is traced to the intention expressed in 1625 by the directors of the English East India Company, incorporated by a Royal Charter a quarter of a century before, that the Company should take Bombay. Accordingly the President of the Company at Surat suggested to the Dutch a joint occupation of the island in 1526. The Dutch declined at first, and the scheme was given up. But on the 13th October of that year a Dutch and English fleet entered the bay without the stakes. On the 14th they went nearer to the small town and village in order to batter the Great House and Fort. While carrying out this operation two guns of the Dutch vessel Mauritius were split. The bombardment ended, the English and Dutch landed safely, some say 300, others 400 men. They pillaged the town and set fire to the Great House and Castle which comprised a warehouse, a priory and a fort together, and to the houses of the citizens. On the 15th, which was a Sunday, they remained on the island, and finding that the people had fled, carrying away all their valuables except victuals, returned to the fleet in the evening of that day, taking away with them two basses of brass and one saker of iron, and giving up Bombay as food for the flames. They found in the harbour two new Portuguese frigates not yet completed. Thus as early as the time of the Portuguese Bombay seems to have been one of their ship-building stations. On the morning of the 16th, when the wind began to blow from land, they set sail and went out to sea. Thus ends this extraordinary naval adventure.

The sudden abandonment after so easy a capture of the island, which they had intended to seize and retain conjointly, may perhaps be explained either by some disagreement between the allies as to the division of the territory, or by fear of being surprised by the Portuguese fleet, which had not yet lost its prestige. It is true that in contrast with the English and Dutch vessels the Portuguese ships

were not only small but badly equipped. Still in 1626 their fleets were commanded by such brave captains as Ruy Freire de Andrade and Nuno Alvares Botelho, who had already had some engagements both with the Dutch and the English and shown their valour.

But after all, this joint assault on Bombay and the incendiarism following the landing of 400 Dutch and English probably was not so serious an affair as might be supposed from the account given. At that time the place around was full of chroniclers, both lay and clerical, but not one among them makes the least allusion to it. It seems incredible that while they describe minutely the attacks of the Malabar pirates and their ravages, exclusive of burning, these writers, the priests especially, should omit to record such an event as a raid by heretical corsairs who not only pillaged but set fire to the town then belonging to His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain.

From the year 1498 to 1612 the Portuguese naval power in the East was considered, like the Spanish Armada, to be invincible. The Portuguese had up to then to deal with only some effete and undisciplined Asiatic potentates without science or conscience. But when the Dutch and the English began to compete with them for maritime supremacy over the Indian Ocean the struggle naturally assumed gigantic proportions. Like the early Portuguese, a new and vigorous race, full of vitality and of practical utility, with excellent training and the heritage of creditable traditions, came to the front to wrest from their hands the sceptre of the seas. The Portuguese had now performed their parabola, had forgotten their duty, and were evidently on the eve of their decline. The repulse off Surat in November 1612 in the engagement between the Portuguese and English fleets, to the great astonishment of the natives, was the crisis, the turning point of their fortunes.

The King Phillip II., when informed of the defeat of the Portuguese fleet, recalled the Viceroy, D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, who had assumed the reins of the Government late in December 1612, blaming him for the disaster, in which he hardly had any share. He was replaced by the Count of Redondo, D. João Coutinho, with the order to send D. Jeronimo a captive to Lisbon, where his goods were confiscated. He lingered long in the prison of the Castello de S. Jorge, where he died in extreme poverty in 1625. Spain had, indeed, the need of a victim to expiate for her own negligence and incapacity. But no punishment could make amends for so many

crimes, especially when "the stars in their course fought against them."

"Truth and error oft may grapple,
Yet we know the Truth must win;
God, who pardons greatest sinners,
Makes no compromise with sin."

Still, prestige which is hard to die, kept up for some time their reputation and led to the conclusion of a treaty between Jehangir and the Portuguese, on the 7th of June 1615, one of its clauses being briefly as follows:—"Whereas the English and the Dutch, under the guise of merchants, come to these parts to establish themselves here and make conquests of the lands; and whereas their presence in the neighbourhood of India would do a great deal of harm to all, it is now agreed that neither the King Jehangir nor the Viceroy of the State of India, shall have any commercial relations with the aforesaid nations, neither shall they give them shelter in their ports nor supply them with provisions." (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., pp. 269-270.) But this temporary mending and tinkering and the unstable friendship of the tipsy Moghal Emperor could be of little avail when the character of the nation had so sadly deteriorated.

The foundation of the British Empire in India was thus laid on that day when the decisive victory off Swally took place. It led to the settlement of a factory at Surat, and eventually to a presidency at Bombay. But long before this, an English priest living in Goa in the latter part of the 16th century, little known beyond his own sphere of educational duties, was opening the way as their pioneer to the future race of Anglo-Indians. When a boy of fourteen I happened to come across a curious grammar of the Konkani language written in Portuguese by Thomas Stephens, an Englishman, and first published in Goa in 1649, and then recently re-printed in 1857. The perusal of this work induced me to seek to know more of the life of this attractive personality, about whom nothing was then absolutely known, beyond his authorship of the grammar and of a Christian *Purána* printed in 1616, somewhat similar in style to that of Fr. Guimarães in the northern dialect of Konkani.

The researches which I undertook in various places revealed some interesting facts. These were embodied in a memoir, entitled *Recordações da minha viagem pelo Egypto, França, Inglaterra e Escossia*, which I contributed to a literary monthly magazine, *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, published in Goa in 1873. *See* Vol. II., p. 225, *et seq.*

It was during the governorship of the Count of S. Januario, and under the auspices of that eminent *savant*, the late J. H. da Cunha Rivara, and the distinguished poet Thomaz Ribeiro, that this magazine flourished for some time and died four years after. Five years later new incidents in the life and labours of Stephens, drawn from little known works, such as Sothwell's *Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu*, Cordara's *Historia Soc. Jesu* and others were gathered and added to my *Materials for the Oriental Studies amongst the Portuguese*, published in the *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, etc., of 1878. *See* Vol. II., p. 195, *et seq.*

Thomas Stephens, whom for some unexplained reason Alegambe calls Busten, Buston and de Bubsten, was born in 1549 at Wiltshire of a middle class family. When yet young he went, in the company of Thomas Pound, as his religious servant and student serving for his learning and maintenance, to Rome. He completed his preliminary studies there and entered the noviciate of the Society of Jesus on the 11th of October 1578. The convent of this noviciate was situated at the Quirinal Hill, where it still exists. As one passes from the *Quattro Fontane* to the *Via Venti Settembre* it is to the right before arriving at the fountain called the *Termini*. Annexed to the noviciate is the beautiful church of St. Andrews. It is generally known in Rome as "Chiesa di S. Andrea al Quirinale," or "a Monte Cavallo." It was built at the expense of the Prince D. Camillo Pamphily, nephew of the Pope Innocent X, in 1678, by the celebrated architect Bernini. After completing his noviciate in Rome, Stephens, about the end of March 1579, went to Lisbon, and embarked there on board the fleet of five vessels, under the command of João de Saldanha, which sailed for India, on the 5th of April. He arrived at Goa on the 24th of October of the same year, during the Governorship for the second time of the eminent Viceroy D. Luiz de Athayde. Cardinal Henry was then at the helm of the State, which soon passed under the hated yoke of Spain. It was the most critical period for the Portuguese in India, and the Viceroy was by his provision of the 16th of December, 1578, trying his utmost to prop up an Empire which the iniquities of the Inquisition and the strifes of the monks had nearly shaken to its foundations. His energetic measures to transfer to the civil courts the cases of idolatry and of the recanting of lukewarm converts, hitherto submitted to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, had some slight effect in staying for a while the current of emigration of those who were in despair

on account of the fierce fanaticism and violence of the priesthood. Thomas Stephens worked for forty years in the mission of the peninsula of Sálsette to the south of Goa. He was Rector of the college at Margão in 1590, succeeding Padre Miguel Leitão. He continued in this rectorship until 1594, being followed in that important post by Padre Alberto Laercio. Stephens died at Goa in 1619, aged seventy. These are few important dates in his uneventful career.

But if his quiet missionary life displays no stirring incident to render it memorable, unlike the lives of several missionaries of various religious orders, who were priests, soldiers, and diplomats at the same time, Stephens has left vestiges of uncommon scholarship. He wrote a Life of Jesus in Portuguese and then translated it in 1614 into Konkani, which language he called *Lingua Marasta Trahmana* This work had three editions, the earliest being of the year 1616. From the second edition, which was begun in 1646 and concluded in 1649, it assumed the name of *Purána*. It is a selection from the Bible, or rather an abridgement of the *New Testament*, with explanatory remarks on the incarnation, passion and resurrection of the Saviour. It was dedicated to the Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the East, D. Frei Christovão de Lisboa, the dedication being dated from the college of Rachol, where it was transferred from Margão, on the 29th of April, 1616. Among the licenses it bears the *imprimatur* of Padre Francisco Vieira, the Provincial of the Society, dated the 22nd of June 1615, being commissioned to this purpose by the Praepositus General, the very Rev. Claudius Aquaviva.

This Christian *Purána*, as it is found now, consists of two treatises. The whole is written in the *ovi* metre, a particular measure in which the Prákrit verses, such as the poems of Mukteśvar, and the *Dnyaneśvari*, a paraphrase in Maráthi of the Bhagavad-Gitá by Dnyánobá, are written. The first treatise consists of 36 cantos, and the second, which is again sub-divided into four parts, of 59 cantos. The whole work has 11,018 strophes, 4,296 of which belong to the first treatise, and 6,722 to the second. Sothwell in his *Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu* says of it:—"Opus magnum cui *Purána* titulus est idiomate Indostano in quo proecipua Fidei mysteria metro exponit, quod tanto plausu exceptum fuit, ut dominicis festisque diebus in templis a Sacro proelegatur, magna omnium approbatione et voluptate."

The next work of Stephens was a translation into Konkani of a Christian catechism in Portuguese by Padre Marcos Jorge. It was published after the death of the author in 1622. But there is

nothing remarkable about it. Undoubtedly the most interesting of his three works is the *Arte da Lingua Canarim*. It was published after his death, after undergoing considerable revision at the hands of Padre Diogo Ribeiro and four other members of the Society, in 1649. It was printed at the St. Ignatius College, at Rachol, preceded by the *imprimatur* of the Provincial, Manoel Barradas, with the consent of the Praepositus General, the very Rev. Mutio Viteleschi. This grammar was re-edited in 1857. Southwell, speaking of this book, says :—"Idioma illius gentis perfectissimè coluit. Plures libros concanica lingua ab aliis antea compositos partim emendavit ex mandato superiorum, partim auxit."

But from an historical point of view the most important of this Englishman's literary remains is a letter, in English, written from Goa to his father Mr. Thomas Stephens, dated the 10th of November 1579. It is found in the Hakluyt collection of Voyages. It is also said that he wrote another letter to his brother, Richard Stephense dated the 4th of November 1579. His letters are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England for trading directly with India. Philip Anderson in his *English in Western India*, etc., says :—"Thomas Stephens is the first Englishman of whom we are sure that he visited the Western shores of India. When there, he was only known as a Jesuit, but he had been originally educated at New College, Oxford. On the 4th of April (5th ?) 1579 he sailed from Lisbon, and the following (November October ?) reached Goa, where he lived many years. A letter which he wrote to his father, a London merchant, soon after his arrival, is printed in Hakluyt collection of Voyages.

"It not only contains a particular and interesting description of his perilous navigation round the Cape, but many sage remarks are made in quite a mercantile spirit on the state of Portuguese trade, of which he evidently desires that his countrymen should obtain a share. The reader is surprised to find a Roman ecclesiastic entering with such eagerness and penetration into commercial affairs. Probably Stephens's advices were the strongest inducements which London merchants had been offered to embark in Indian speculations, and certainly they began from this period to fit out expeditions for the East," pp. 3-4.

Baron Walckenaer, in his *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, says :—"Ce fut au retour de Stephens que les Anglais, comprenant par ses récits et ses observations combien ils avaient négligé leurs avantages, depuis que le Portugal accumulait des trésors auxquels toutes les

nations de l' Europe avaient les mêmes droits d'aspirer, s'enflammerent des deux puissantes passions de l' intêr t et de la gloire, et pr'tendirent à des biens dont on ne pouvait du moins refuser le partage." But Stephens never returned to England, which fact seems to have been made known to him later on; for he adds:—"Mais il parait . . . qu'il était jesuite et qu'il passa même le reste de sa vie au collége de Goa."

In 1583, four English merchants, Ralph Fitch, John Newbury, Leeds and Storie went out to India overland as private mercantile adventurers by the route which Cæsar Frederick had followed. The fact that they were engaged in trade was sufficient to cause the Portuguese Government to arrest them as interlopers and pirates at Ormuz and to throw them into prison. In the end Newbury settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa, although Fitch says he went home through Persia. Leeds entered the service of the Great Moghal, as a jeweller, and Fitch, after travelling through Ceylon, Bengal, Burma, Pegu, Siam and Malacca returned to England. He was the first Englishman in the reign of Queen Elizabeth who travelled so long, from 1583 to 1591, and preceded by some years the formation of the East India Company. Storie, who was an artist, obtained his liberty by becoming a Roman Catholic, while the three others were allowed to go at large on their procuring personal securities. Storie at last left the Jesuits and married a half-caste woman in Goa. Ralph Fitch, who with his companions had been sent to the East at the charge of Sir Edward Osborne and Mr. Richard Staper reached England in 1591 and gave an account of the great wealth, resources, and lucrative trade of India. This induced the English merchants to form an association in 1599 for developing the trade with the East Indies, and in the following year, 1600, the first patent or charter of incorporation was issued, granting the monopoly for 15 years. A second East India Company was founded in 1698, and, four years later, was united to the first one.

All these English travellers state that Thomas Stephens was a true friend to his countrymen. Indeed he seems to have been a friend to all foreigners, for Pyrard de Laval, who was a prisoner as well in Goa in 1608, mentions him as such. But the jealousy of the Portuguese against foreign interlopers, both then and at the time of the diplomatic influence of the brothers Shirley in Persia, when the idea of free trade was not even conceived of, was as natural as about the middle of the last century when it was prevail-

ing fiercely among the Englishin Bombay. Anquetil du Perron in his *Zend Avesta*, Vol. I., pp. 400, *et seq*, referring to his visit to Bombay in April 1761, writes:—"During the last days which I passed at Bombay I had several conversations with Mr. Spencer on the settlements of Europeans in India . . . Notwithstanding the moderation and strict honesty which guarded his conversation, I believed he was of opinion that the preeminence and even the extension of commerce, in a nation different from his own, was a sort of crime." That is, in short, the history of all monopolies.

Returning to Thomas Stephens, Newbury, in a letter to Sir Francis, Walsingham, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, speaking of Stephens writes, "Whoever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now?" And Raikes in his *Englishman in India*, quoting this passage from Newbury, adds:—"But the time was approaching when Englishmen were to be heard of not only at Goa, but in every part and in every city of India until their power stretched from Ceylon to the Indus."

About the death of Thomas Stephens, Julius Cordara in his *Historia Soc. Jesu*, writes:—"P. Stephanus natione anglus, quem cum Thoma Pardo receptum in societatem docuimus libro hujus historiae primo, numerabat vitæ annos septuaginta, hujusque temporis majorem partem, annos scilicet quadraginta, excolendis Salsettarum novalibus perquam utiliter impenderet, Gentis linguam, quam canarinam vocant, adeo colebat, ut hujus artem conscripserit . . . . . Incidit ejus obitus, nescio quo casu, Goae."

Anderson in his *English in Western India* informs us that only one letter from Thomas Stephens to his father, a London merchant, caused amazement to the people that "a Roman ecclesiastic should enter with such eagerness and penetration into commercial affairs" and that "his advices were the strongest inducements which London merchants had been offered to embark in Indian speculations;" and Raikes in his *Englishman in India* adds "unfortunately we have no more letters from this quaint Jesuit of Wiltshire." But one letter was certainly more than enough for all the mischief wrought. The fact is that his letter created rivalry in Europe and jealousy in India. And Stephens seems to have repented of what he had done, and on his death-bed confessed that the Portuguese were too confident and unsuspicious to admit foreigners into their Indian settlements.

The Governor, Fernão de Albuquerque, writing to the King Philip III. of Spain, on the 14th of February 1620, says:—"It is not convenient for the service of Your Majesty to have foreign prelates here,

nor for the foreign members of the Society of Jesus to come to these missions. This is so true that an English priest of holy life while on his death-bed in the professed house of the Society in this city said an hour before he died that the Portuguese were too suspectless in admitting foreigners into this State. From the quality of this priest and the hour he was in, one paid much attention to what he said. He did not declare whether his words were applicable to the religious alone, but I believe that he meant both the ecclesiastics and the laymen." *See Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, p. 204. Such are the results of "the wretched education, and the wretched social arrangements," as Stuart Mill says in his *Ethics*, "which we wrongly call Christian civilisation. It is practically strife and hatred, although in theory one professes love and charity."

Thomas Stephens's repentance must have been sincere; for after the latter he wrote to his father on the 10th of November 1579, about a fortnight after his arrival in Goa, he does not seem to have held any more inducements to London merchants to embark in Indian speculations, although he lived forty years there and died in 1619, aged seventy, a few months before his last message or dying words were communicated, on the 14th of February 1620, by the Governor Fernão de Albuquerque to the King Philip III. of Spain.

Fernão de Albuquerque is another charming personality. He was very old at the time he was appointed Governor of India, but he was an experienced and practical man, who had spent many years of his life in the East. His letters to the King are in a style which is terse, forcible and convincing. He died in Goa after governing the State of India for three years on the 29th of January 1623, and was buried in the chancel of the Church of Our Lady of Serra. During his time Ormuz was lost, and this caused him much grief and most probably hastened his end.

Before dismissing the subject of Thomas Stephens "the quaint Jesuit of Wiltshire" and the first Englishman in India, it may be worth while to trace, without stepping beyond the province of historical criticism, to the spirit of his letter, the inception of the material ambition of his countrymen, in regard to India as well as the unprovoked descent of the combined Dutch and English fleets upon the island of Bombay on the 14th of October 1626, when two Christian nations of Europe, with the fixed idea of seizing by force the settlement of a third Christian nation of Europe, landed on the island of Bombay.

Whatever doubts may exist as to the authenticity of the records of this event, there is no denying the fact that the Dutch were in the habit of harassing the people of Bombay. Antonio Bocarro in 1634 refers to it along with the piracies of the *parós* or *padavs*, the small trading vessels of the Malabars. The joint invasion of the Dutch and English in great strength without the people being able to resist them may perhaps be the one referred to by Antonio Bocarro.

Antonio Bocarro, one of the successors of the official annalist, Diogo do Couto, who died in 1616, wrote his *Livro das plantas*, etc., in 1634, illustrating it with designs of the Portuguese fortresses in the East Indies. He was appointed Records-keeper of India (*Torre do Tombo*) and chronicler in 1631. He describes Bombay, or Mombaim as he calls it, in 1634, under the heading of "Description of the Bar and Port of Mombaim," as follows:—

"Mombaim is a broader and deeper river than any in this State of His Majesty. It lies 8 leagues to the south of Bassein and to the north of Chaul. This river is of salt-water, through which many rivers and creeks from that region disembogue into the sea. There are no sand-banks, shoals nor shallows, except a rocky ridge which juts out from the land-point southwards, and extends half a league to the sea. It is all under rocks, and though slightly visible where it begins on land, it soon conceals itself under water and runs shallow for half a league, so that if a vessel fails to take heed is sure to run against it. This river of Mombaim is two leagues wide at the entrance, but soon narrows itself inwards, though not much. Coming from without across the bar one must steer north-eastwards, keeping clear on the seaside from the islet named Candil* and sail at the depth of 8 fathoms through the middle of the canal.

"On entering Mombaim there is on the left, a little less than a quarter of a league from the bar point, a bastion (or battery) situated on the margin of the river, which has not more than a square platform of about 10 walking paces, on which are planted two iron pieces of ordnance, of spoon, each of 2 pounds of iron shots, which play only seawards.

"On the land side there are the houses of the Vazadar† or lord of

*Candil was in the time of Gerard Aungier in 1669 called Coleo and later on Old Woman's Island, probably from Kolvan or Kóli hamlet, and now Colaba.

†Vazadar is probably derived from Vatandar, from the Marathi वतन (*vatan*) or the Persian وطن (*vatan*), hereditary property or rights.

the manor (senhorio) of the Cassabé* which means a town or village of Mombaim. There is no soldier or bombardier in this bastion (or battery), nor anything for its defence, except what the lord of the manor supplies it with at his own expense, without any charge to the Royal Treasury.

"The small and scattered population of Bombaim consists of eleven Portuguese families or married men (*casados*). These together with the native blacks make up 70 musqueteers, all very good men of arms. They are needful there as a means of precaution against the *parós*, and their repeated attacks, as well as against the Dutch, who landed there once with so great a power that the town people were unable to prevent it.

"The Count Viceroy sent three Ministers† to fortify this bay in order to stop the incursions of the European foes. They, having observed and considered everything, found that the breadth of the port was so large and broader still in some parts inwards and clear (*limpo*) that there was no place (*paragem*) for building a fort to defend the entrance." *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., pp. 259-260.

Antonio Bocarro describes also the Karanja and Elephanta islands, along with the other districts of the province of Bassein. The Karanja fort was commanded in 1634 by a nobleman, Fernão Sampaio da Cunha. He was appointed captain for life on a salary of 30,000 reis or 100 xerafins. He was also the proprietor of the Elephanta island. The garrison consisted of six European soldiers and one bombardier, who were paid their quarterage and provender; and five *piães* who were paid their *muxaras*, amounting to 480 pardaos. That was the only expense the Portuguese Government defrayed in the Karanja island, which yielded annually several thousand pardaos to the Royal Treasury. Next to Sálsette it was the granary of Bombay.

The words *piães* and *muxaras* require explanation. The early Portuguese chronicles are full of many such vernacular terms introduced into their language. Some of these words were originally

* Cassabé is the Maráthi कसब (Kasabá) or Persian, قصبة (*kasba*) a small town or the principal place of a district.

† The Count Viceroy was Conde de Linhares, D. Miguel de Noronha, whose rule extended from the 22nd of October 1629 to the 8th of December 1635.

The three ministers were Dom Francisco de Moura, Captain of the City of Goa, Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca, Chancellor of the State of India, and José Pinto Pereira, Superintendent of the General Estates of Goa.

Persian, adopted in course of time into the Maráthi. But *piães*, which is now represented by *peons*, another word for शिपाई (*shipái*) 'a footman' is traced to a Portuguese source, the word *peão* or *pião* meaning 'a keeper', or 'watchman.' *Muxara* is the Persian موشاهره (*mashâhara*) which in Maráthi is written मुशारा (*mushárá*) meaning 'pay,' 'salary', or 'stipend,' as explained at p. 89.

Bocarro describes the Elephanta island thus:—"The island of the elephant which is described in the plant is two leagues in circuit. The lord of the island, who is the above named captain of Karanja, had built there a tower which shows itself for its defence against the *parós*, which cruise thereabout. On the top of it there is a mast, which unrolls a flag when there are *parós* as a signal to vessels sailing in those parts, which has prevented their making seizures. There is in this island a pagoda, called of the elephant, which is an extraordinarily magnificent work. It is hewn out of a whole stone-hill with the pickaxe (*picão*). It is a very high house of more than 200 paces round. It has thrust into it at a proportional distance columns of the same stone with figures of animals carved with the burin with great perfection. There are also many other figures in diverse parts and secret chambers (*retretes de camaras*) all made with the pick-axe on the living rock. On the other side there are two open windows, through which the light of the sky enters. All this is carved with such minuteness and curiosity as if it were of wood rather than of marble stone. It is impossible to relate in particular the quantity of the figures, their positions and features, and of the secret chambers, rooms, recesses and receptacles (*buracos e almarios*). One cannot imagine the form in which it is represented without seeing it. There is also a large and deep tank of water, without which the heathens of this East never build their pagodas; because among their other abominations they believe that water purifies and cleanses them. Thus if the proprietor of this island were not a Portuguese, or if he allowed the heathens to make pilgrimages to this pagoda, even by imposing some tax for this purpose, very great would be the concourse of the heathens (*gentios*), who would come thither, because the superstition with which they venerate it is remarkable."—*Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

Garcia da Orta was the first Portuguese author who wrote a more or less precise description of the famous Elephanta cave-temple, his description being written in 1534. The next account was that of D. João de Castro in 1538-39, then comes Diogo do Couto's description in 1595-

1603, and lastly that of Antonio Bocarro in 1634. This writer refers twice to *parós* which is an Indian word. It is now called *padav*, being a low broad built craft from 10 to 30 tons, carrying a single lateen sail, and remarkably swift in going round. It was the boat of the Malabar pirates. There is another kind of boat resembling it somewhat in pronunciation, but quite different in construction. It is called *balao*. This is a fishing boat peculiar to the Konkan coast. At the time the Bombay harbour was full of fishing stakes of the Kôlis, —fishing being then the only industry besides the cultivation of the coco, areca-nut and rice—the place for mooring these boats was just in the little creek or arm of the sea between the Bombay and Colaba islands which existed there long before its reclamation, and the building of the Colaba causeway about the middle of the present century. It was then called Padav-bandar, which in course of time became Polo and now Apollo Bandar.

The road leading from this Padav-bandar, called later on Palva-bandar, through the broad Esplanade to Girgaum, was then called Palva road. As late as 1860 this long street, which is now named Girgaum road, was simply Palva road. Apollo is thus a transformation of Padav, after passing through the intermediate stages of Palva and Polo. It seems improbable that any one should have ever thought of giving such a mythological name as Apollo to the prosaic Bombay landing-ground without there being a previous indigenous source for such a designation.

After the English joint occupation of the Bombay island for one day, on the 15th of October 1626, we are told that it was not until 1640 that the Surat Council brought Bombay to the notice of the Directors in London as the best place on the Western coast of India for a station of the Company. (See Bruce's *Annals*, *I.*, 336.) It was suggested again in 1652 that Bombay and Bassein should be bought from the Portuguese (*Ibid.*, 1472). In 1654 in an address to Oliver Cromwell, the Company mentioned Bassein and Bombay as the most suitable places for an English settlement in India (*Ibid.* I., p. 488). Oliveira Martins in his *Historia de Portugal* (Lisbon 1879, p. 12) says that two ineffectual attempts were made during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell to get possession of the island. (See my memoir "On the marriage of the Infanta D. Catharina of Portugal with Charles II. of Great Britain, her Medals and Portraits" in the *Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XVII, pp. 137, *et seq.*)

Again in 1659 the Surat Council recommended to the Directors that an application should be made to the King of Portugal to cede some place on the west coast, Danda-Rajapuri, Bombay or Versova, Bruce's *Annals* 1,548. But Danda Rajapuri was not Portuguese, and perhaps Chaul was meant. And finally on the 7th of December 1661, in a letter which must have crossed the Directors' letter telling of the cession of Bombay, the President at Surat wrote that, "unless a station could be obtained which would place the Company's servants out of the reach of the Moghal and Sivâji and render them independent of the overbearing Dutch, it would be more prudent to bring off their property and servants, than leave them exposed to continual risks and dangers." (*Ibid.* II., 111, and the *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XIII, Pt. II, p. 472.) There was poetical justice in this. The old allies of the joint occupation of Bombay had fallen out, for they never were real friends. It is said that it was the isolated position rather than its harbour that made the English covet Bombay, which harbour was considered then, and until a much later date to be too big for the trade and shipping of those days. But the Count of Linhares writing to the King on the 4th of December 1630, says:—"The galleons are moored (*surtos*) at Panelim (in the Mandovi river at Goa) where they are ruined by the rains (*comido pela bruma*), and it costs a great deal to keep them in repairs, although it is the best place I know of for safety. Mormugão is thought of only in case of need, and when the bar is closed. But from what I have heard Bombaim is alone good for them, there being a fort capable to protect them." *Arch. Port. Orient.*, Vol VI., Doc., 566.

The six years of the Count of Linhares's viceroyalty were in reality the most remarkable period in the Indian annals as a reaction against the forces of Nature and the rapacity of man to overthrow the Titan. But it was of no avail, as corruption had taken deep root and become chronic. It had begun fifty years before on the field of El-Kasr-el-Kebir (Alcacer Quebir) which witnessed the vanishing of all national hopes in the disappearance of the last King of the House of Aviz. The cycle of the golden and heroic age of Portugal had been closed by that terrible disaster which resulted in the annexation of Portugal by Philip II. of Spain. The captivity of sixty years, from 1580 to 1640, that followed the disaster proved fatal in many other ways than the disappearance of the national dynasty, chiefly because the interests of Portugal in Asia were subordinated to those of Spain in Europe.

At the beginning of this captivity the 12th viceroy D. Luiz de Athayde, Count of Athouguia, had fought with indomitable valour against the two Indian enemies—one external and the other internal—the treacherous Mahomedan magnates and the fanatic priests and Inquisitors. But they were withal less dangerous than the European enemies now coming to the East to wrest from the Portuguese their maritime and commercial supremacy. The Count of Athouguia's energetic rule succeeded in restoring for a while some of its old vigour, to be lost again within a decade. The supremacy of Spain on the high seas was shattered by the destruction of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, which also ruined the naval power of Portugal. The merchants of Antwerp then saw their opportunity for establishing a direct trade with India, the result being that as a portion of the Spanish dominions, Portugal had also to suffer defeat from the enemies of Spain.

The Dutch were, it is true, a little later than the English in trying to get to the East, but they had already, owing to their early established commercial relations with India through Lisbon, succeeded in obtaining a footing there before the English. For the Portuguese fleets had up to then been content to bring the products of the East to Lisbon, where merchant ships from the United Provinces used to resort, and carry the merchandise for distribution throughout northern Europe. (*See* the rare work in 10 Volumes, *Recueil des Voyages etc.*, published at Rouen in 1725.)

The English had begun as early as the reign of Henry VIII. to participate in the Indian trade, but they had attempted to reach India by the roundabout ways of the north-west and north-east passages. The Dutch also after having been excluded by Charles V. and his successor Philip II., from extending their trade to the East, had tried to discover a new route to China. They undertook to reach the shores of that country by sailing along the northern boundaries of Europe, through the Arctic Ocean, and then descend southwards through the Straits of Behering, a feat that was reserved to be accomplished only in the last quarter of the present century by the intrepid Nordenskjold in his "Vega."

Like the English the Dutch at first avoided interference with the Portuguese rights under the Papal Bull of Alexander VI of the year 1493, and also the Spanish cruisers. But finally they sent their ships in 1595, when Cornelius Houtman, who had once been employed as a pilot by the Portuguese in India, led a Dutch fleet round

the Cape of Good Hope to the East. After this happy result the English projected their East India Company. Thus first the Dutch, then the English and other foreign nations also, as we shall see presently, contended for a share in the Indian trade, and eventually destroyed the Portuguese power in the East. Although the Dutch and English were not always on good terms, their enmity suddenly ceased or turned into friendship whenever there was a chance of plundering the Portuguese, as in the case of the invasion of Bombay on the 14th of October 1626.

In 1603 the Dutch, with a large force from Europe, first attempted to dislodge the Portuguese from their settlement of Mozambique and of Goa, but failed in both. In 1622 the English, joining with the Persians, attacked and captured Ormuz from the Portuguese, obtaining from Sháh Abbas a grant in perpetuity of half the customs of Gambroon. In 1635 the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from their factories on the Indian coasts and at the Point de Galle, and when in the year 1640 in which they lost their city of Malacca, Portugal again became a separate sovereignty or kingdom, the Dutch and the English together had possessed themselves of the trade of the East, of many of their best settlements, and the dominion of the Portuguese was withering away as rapidly as it had sprung up. They were now, in the words of Shakespeare—

"Sick in the world's regard, wretched and low."

In addition to these European foes, another powerful enemy arose in India. In 1630 a treaty was signed between the Viceroy and Sháh Jehán through the Nawáb of Surat, to expel the Dutch and English from Surat, Broach and Kambay. See *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. IV., pp. 75-76. But in 1633, Azim Khan, Governor of Bengal, having received orders from Sháh Jehán "to expel the idolaters (Portuguese) from his dominions" seized the Portuguese fort at Hugli, under the command of Miguel Rodrigues, and its defenders, after a brave resistance, were driven out of Bengal. It is said that none of them was personally ill-treated, but their "idols" were broken. This was a final blow to the Portuguese prestige in India.

The Count of Linhares had two great difficulties to contend with within his own territory; the absolute want of soldiers and the superabundance of monks and priests. On Philip IV. of Spain writing to the Viceroy, on the 10th of December 1633, thanking him for what he had done in equipping armed fleets and fitting out expeditions against so many enemies, the Viceroy, on the 29th of November 1634, replied

thus:—"It is of great importance to send fleets to the parts your Majesty points out; but how can I equip them, sire, if your Majesty sends me no men for them?" To garrison the forts they possessed then he had the need of at least 7,000 soldiers, not to speak of the need of sailors; while he had actually not more than 3,000 men in all. Then he adds:—"The religious alone have increased. Now, sire, what help can I render to all this, so urgently needed, at a time when the enemies from Europe have doubled their resources, and the natives show them love, because they find them to be powerful, and disaffection to us because we are decayed?" See *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., pp. 271-272.

As for the religious the Viceroy writes of the Jesuits in Bombay as follows:—"The priests of the Society possess in the north a village called Bandora. It is a bar through which boats enter. It is usual to smuggle goods through it without paying duties to your Majesty's Treasury. While some of your Majesty's vessels were entering the bar they (the priests) threw often bomb-shells on them."

"In this village, as well as in others, the priests make *sevastaes** and *foraes* (land revenue regulations) as they like. I did not allow them to recover from your Majesty's vassals any duties except such as were mentioned in the public records." (*Ibid.*, Vol II., p. 71.)

The Dutch and the English were for the early years of the 17th century rivals in the Indian trade; but on the 9th of June 1620 a treaty of peace having been signed between the two companies great rejoicings took place. In the same year Van den Broeck was appointed Chief and Director of the Dutch factories in Arabia, Persia and India. From the date named the two Companies began to act together in assailing the Portuguese. The first joint attack took place in 1623. When it became known that eight Portuguese galleons were in the Persian Gulf, the two rival companies furnished four ships each, and sent an expedition on the 18th of November 1623. But they failed to capture any of them and returned to Surat on the 17th of March 1624. The Dutch lost, on the contrary, their commander, Albert Becker, who was killed by a cannon ball. The next joint attack was on Bombay two years later, with the result we already know.

---

* *Sevastaes* is a Maráthi name for a tax of 1¼ per cent, from सवा (*savá*) (one and a quarter).

Foraes are regulations for the Land and Revenue Settlement. It is derived from *fóro*, a land-tax or quit-rent.

While this struggle of the Portuguese with the Dutch and English was going on, the King of Bijápur was in 1636 negotiating terms of peace on the one hand with the Dutch and English to turn the Portuguese out of Goa, and receiving on the other ambassadors from the Portuguese Viceroy to turn the English out of Baticala (Bathkál). About the same time the Viceroy was reporting to the King the arrival of the French vessels in the Indian Ocean, thus adding another European competitor to the Eastern trade. Towards the end of this period the Genoese also appear to have made an attempt to have a share in this trade. Some Genoese merchants under Letters Patent from the Duke and Senate of their city had equipped two large ships which sailed to India, but they were captured by the Dutch. Besides these there was the Danish East India Company also trying to get a portion of the Indo-European trade.

At last the Portuguese seeing that they had no friends nor allies, neither among the natives nor among the Europeans, sought to make treaties of peace and commerce with the latter. Such treaties were actually concluded in 1641 both with the English and the Dutch, but the hopes of peace were never realised. Such was the general condition of India about the middle of the 17th century, and Portugal in Europe was surrounded by enemies just as much as in India. Spain was naturally hostile, nor was the Papal Court more friendly. The King, D. João IV. was perplexed, and in his despair had expressed a willingness to resign the throne to a French prince who should bring ample and powerful assistance to his country from France. But this strange offer of abdication was never carried out. Amidst his perplexities the King had nevertheless a prize to offer to one who should help him in his difficulties. This prize was nothing less than the hand of his beloved daughter, the Infanta D. Catharina de Bragança. The Cardinal Mazarin had an agent in Lisbon, Le Chevalier de Jant, through whom the ambitious Cardinal was trying to get as much as he could from Portugal, while preventing her from making peace at any price with Spain, with which country France was then at war. Some years were thus spent in devising and maturing various schemes, too long to enumerate here, until D. João IV. died, on the 6th of November 1656. On the accession of his son, Afonso VI., his mother, D. Luiza de Gusmão, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, became the sole regent. She too was anxious for a close alliance with France, when the signature of the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, with a secret article to the effect

that France would abandon the Portuguese, removed all hope and induced her to seek another alliance elsewhere.

The Infanta Catharina, who had hitherto been destined to be the Royal bride of Louis XIV. of France, was now to be bestowed as a prize on the prince who should best be enabled to assist her country against the Spanish aggression at home and the Dutch invasion abroad. D. Catharina was born on the 25th of November 1638. This date has been considered auspicious in the annals of the kingdom. In the Christian calendar it is dedicated to St. Catherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr. It was on the 25th of November 1510 that Goa was re-captured by the great Affonso de Albuquerque from the Sultán of Bijápur, and St. Catherine declared to be its patron Saint. It was to this Saint that the Cathedral Church of Goa was dedicated, and her heraldic wheel constitutes even now a leading emblem in the coat-of-arms of the Senate and the Metropolitan and Primical See of Goa. It is her wheel also that is seen engraven on the reverse of many an early coin of Portuguese India. See my *Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, p. 10. It was also on the same date in 1640 that her father was offered the crown of Portugal, of which his family had been deprived by Spain for sixty long wearisome years, whereupon he headed the revolt which ended in the independence of his country.

From this circumstance the Duke of Bragança regarded with a superstitious veneration this date, and named after the saint of the day his daughter, who was henceforward considered to be a pledge of good fortune for the new dynasty. The king loved his daughter tenderly, and as a token of his affection a grant was executed, just before his death, in 1656, bestowing on her the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego, and the town of Moura. Besides these, some other places and revenues were given to her, provided that on her marriage out of the kingdom she should relinquish them, receiving instead an equivalent value from the Crown.

While D. João IV was alive it had been proposed that the Infanta should marry D. João of Austria. Such a project had gained the good will of Spain and of the Holy See, but it was strongly objected to by the nation. Then she was to marry Louis XIV, but as he was a minor the negotiations were carried on between the Cardinal Mazarin and a Portuguese envoy, who happened to be an Irish Monk, a man of learning and influence, but clumsy and *maladroit*, not being sufficiently skilful to cope with the Machiavellian *finesse* and artifice

of the acute Cardinal, who was playing Portugal against Spain, as was noted at the time by the Spanish Minister, D. Luis de Haro.

In the meantime Louis XIV married the Spanish Infanta, Maria Theresa, a daughter of Philip IV, who was to renounce her claims to Spanish succession, if her dowry was paid. This condition the Cardinal Mazarin thought would never be carried out from the emptiness of the Spanish Exchequer. The Portuguese negotiator, the Irish Monk, had been authorised by the Queen-Regent and her Government to offer to the King of France the same dowry that was eventually accepted by Charles II of Great Britain, except the island of Bombay.

The Irishman's name was Daniel O'Daly, and he was born in 1595 at Killtarçon, in the county of Kerry in Munster. He was the son of Cornelius O'Daly, an officer in the regiment commanded by the Earl of Desmond. He left Ireland with his family on account of the persecutions of the Catholics during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and after spending some time in Louvain and in Madrid, where young Daniel O'Daly professed into the Order of the Dominicans, went to Lisbon. He changed his name into Frey Domingos do Rozario, and acquired by degrees considerable importance in the highest circles of the Lisbon society. The change of name, however, appears to have taken place earlier, on his entering into the Order of St. Dominic.

Frey Domingos do Rozario belonged to the Dominican province of Castella. He was offered the mitre of the Primate of the East and some bishoprics both by Philip III of Spain and D. João IV of Portugal, but he refused all, accepting at last that of the See of Coimbra. See *Touron's Hist. des hommes illustres de l'ordre de S. Dominique*, Vol. IV., p. 801. And Fr. Pedro Monteiro's *Claustro Dominicano*. 1-3, c. 2.

Although so clever as a priest he failed most egregiously as a diplomatist. M. de la Clède in his *Histoire Générale de Portugal*, Paris, 1735, vol. VIII., p. 463, says of him :—"Ce Père Dominique du Rosaire, Islandois de nation. . . ce moine échoua dans toutes ses negociations." Pinheiro Chagas in his *Historia de Portugal* refers to him as Fr. Domingos do Rozario, an Irishman, and the Viscount de Sanches de Baena in his *Notas e documentos ineditos* gives further details of his life and work for more than half a century.

When D. Luiza, the widow of D João IV., despatched the Irishman to Paris as her envoy for negotiating the marriage, he was accompanied by other emissaries, including a Jew who, notwithstanding

the penalties attached to his proscribed faith in Portugal, was, from the circumstance of the men of his race being able agents, employed in this errand. But Daniel O'Daly or Fr. Domingos do Rozario was, doubtless, the most conspicuous among them all.

On his return from France to the Court of Lisbon, the Irish priest became the confessor of the Queen-Regent. Such a post in a royal household carries great influence with it, and becomes often the arbiter in many a domestic arrangement. The Queen was so pleased with Fr. Domingos, notwithstanding his failure in the marriage negotiations in France, that she granted him lands and money to build two colleges for the Dominicans, one called *Corpo Santo* for the Monks and the other called *Bom Successo* for the Nuns.

But it seems after all that the Irish priest was not entirely devoid of some diplomatic tact. His *échouement*, as M. de la Clède calls it, or falling through of the negotiations for the marriage of the Infanta with the future Roi Soleil of France, had not certainly disheartened him. He had already met with, and known intimately, Charles Stuart at the French Court, where the young prince was then an exile, but on the point of being restored to the kingdom of Great Britain. Charles II liked the Irish priest, and after his marriage invited him to proceed to England as confessor of the Infanta, a flattering invitation which, however, he declined. Fr. Domingos was then an old man, and the last thing he did in his life was to publish a work in Latin of a genealogical character. He died on the 30th of June 1662.

Fr. Domingos proposed to the Queen of Portugal a matrimonial and political alliance with England. This proposal met with a cordial approval from D. Luiza, notwithstanding the difference in religion of the two high contracting parties. Misfortune is said to have often the power to combine diverse destinies. We know that there is no greater woe than to be mindful of the happy times when misfortune befalls one, as Dante beautifully expresses it:—

" Nessun maggior dolore,
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria."

Inf. C. V., 121-123.

There is, however, always some comfort to the wretched in having partners in their misery, as says the proverb—*Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.*

D. Luiza and her husband had suffered from the Spanish yoke for sixty mournful years, during which time the sovereignty of the rightful

heir to the house of Aviz had been usurped. The Stuarts had, on their side, been the victims of a revolution. After twenty years of civil war and a hateful protectorate Charles II had just returned to the throne of his father. Their misfortunes had thus naturally drawn them towards each other. A bond of sympathy, a link of mutual regard had existed between the two dynasties—the Stuarts and the Braganças—which was in itself a powerful incentive to the matrimonial and political alliance which soon after took place.

We are now fast approaching the remarkable epoch when Bombay saw the exchange of one sovereignty for another. It was a good luck for this island to pass from the hands of a nation that was on the wane to those of another that was just waxing great, and is after the lapse of more than two hundred years, at the zenith of its greatness and fame, wealth and glory. May they last long! It is to this exchange that Bombay owes its rise and prosperity. It is to the wise rule, tolerance in religion, fair dealing and justice in all matters that the increase of population and the growth of trade of this city are mainly due. There are, doubtless, many improvements yet to be made; but Bombay, with all the drawbacks that surround an Eastern city, built and governed on Western models, possesses sufficient vitality to resist the assaults of evil fortune, from which no city, as no man, can be entirely free.

But before entering into the study of the documents relating to the cession of Bombay, it may be worth while to inquire into the topographical and political conditions of the island just at the time of its cession to the British. It is a subject full of keen interest, but its study is not easy, owing to the information about it being scattered in several old volumes, some of which are extremely rare, their acquisition being attended with almost insurmountable difficulties in a place like Bombay, which is utterly devoid of all works of reference. I must therefore depend entirely upon my own private library, which cannot of course boast of completeness.

On the cession of Bassein and its dependencies to the Portuguese Crown on the 23rd of December 1534 by Bahádur Sháh, the whole territory was found to be divided into districts, the latter into villages, and these again sub-divided into smaller portions of land. This system of land division may perhaps be traced up to the time of Bhíma Deva, who had the same territory divided into maháls (Maráthi महाल *máhál* from the Persian محال *mahál*, 'a district or division of a province') the latter into villages, and so on.

These divisions naturally suffered some modification during the Mahomedan rule, and also under the Portuguese, owing to the new order gradually introduced into the land revenue of the province. When Simão Botelho wrote his *Tombo* or inventory of the land owing allegiance to the King of Portugal in the Bassein Province, in 1554, he divided it into praganás (Maráthi परगणा *paraganá*, 'a district') each praganá into a certain number of aldeas (a Portuguese word, derived from the Arabic, meaning a village), into *caçabés* (from कसबा (*kasabá*) قصبة (*kasba*), the principal district of a place), and mandovins (from मांदवी (*mándavi*) 'a custom-house). He gives interesting details of each of these divisions and the revenue derived from each of them from 1534 to 1548. He also mentions the names of the individuals to whom several of these villages were granted on the payment of a quit-rent. See *Tombo do Estado da India*, pp. 139-205.

The *praganás* were named Anzor (Anjor); Cairena (Kairana) probably Khainne, 8 miles north of Belápur; Panchena (Panachena) probably Panvel; Camão (Káman); Era (Virár), and Solguão (Salgaon). The *caçabes* were of Baçaim (Bassein), Tana (Thána), Caranja (Karanja), Aguacim (Agasi), Maym (Máhim) and Çupara (Sopára). Then there were the mandovins or custom-houses of Bassein, Sabajo (Sabjo), Talousa (Talus), Virár, Kamán, Agasi, Thána, Karanja, Máhim, Mazagon and Bombay. Besides these there was the revenue derived from towns, such as Bassein, Agasi, Thána, Karanja and Máhim. There was also a separate revenue drawn from the island of Sálsette and other islands; from the forts of Canqauaça (Sánkshi) and Carnala (Karnála) and some other places and different other sources, too long to mention here. To the above, were added during the governorship of Francisco Barreto (1555-1558), the *praganás* of Asserim and Manorá.

After 1560, when D. Constantino de Bragança conquered Damán the whole coast of the north Konkan, from Daman to Karanja, had become one contiguous Portuguese possession. It was then divided into two parts. Under Damán were placed the four districts of Sanjan, Dahanu, Tarapur and Khelve-Máhim. Under Bassein there were eight divisions, *viz*:—Saibana or Bassein proper, the Kasbá of Thána, the island of Sálsette, the island of Karanja, the island of Bellaflor de Sambayo (Bellaflor is Belápur or Beláwal, and Sambayo is Sháhábáz close to Belápur), the *praganá* of Manorá and the *praganá* of Asserim, and lastly the island of Bombay with the island of Colaba, which was again sub-divided into two. These two islets at the south-west ex-

tremity of the island of Bombay were first called Candil, then Coleo, then again Old Woman's Island, from *Kolwan*, and now together they form the so-called Upper and Lower Colaba, from *Kolbath*, the root of the designation being always Kôli, whose hamlet it was.

The year 1560, in which the above division of the whole northern coast took place is remarkable for many other important events in the annals of Portuguese India. It was about that year that Goa was raised to the category of an Archbishopric, and the terrible Inquisition was introduced into India. The "Holy Office" had jurisdiction over all the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope. It had a commissary at Bassein, and at other chief towns, extending its operations over all the Portuguese settlements in the East.

Thus Bassein, at the time of the cession of the island of Bombay, consisted of 9 praganás, 4 caçabés, 56 pacarias (*pákhádis*, meaning a dividing lane, that is, wards of towns, and large villages), 324 *aldeas* (villages), 18 *hortas* (a Portuguese word for garden), 10 *sarretores* (a term derived from the Maráthi *sadetors*, meaning cut off or divided, 4 *terras*, or lands, either reclaimed or waste, and three *ilhas* or (islands), exclusive of Bombay. These three islands, called Navem, Seveon and Elefante, that is, the Hog, Butcher, and Elephanta islands, with the "terra de Bendolac," probably some land about the Bendkhal creek near Uran, belonged to the caçabé of the island of Karanja. For further details see my *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*; and also *Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas*, Vol. IV., pp. 217, *et seq.*

Of the social condition of Bombay at the time of its cession there is hardly any information worth collecting from any of the old documents of the time. Nor is this to be expected from mere official archives owing to the subordinate position of this island as a dependency of the Court of the North, as Bassein was then called. In fact, the importance of Bombay had hitherto consisted in the circumstance of its being situated in the neighbourhood of such great centres of government and of trade as Bassein and Chaul.

Nor is there any certainty of its ever having been known to Greeks and Romans. The classical geographical works of Ptolemy, Pliny, the Periplus and others have nothing definite about the island. The allusions to *Heptanasia* which Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* identified with Bombay, and to *Milizigeris*, which Ovington in his *Voyage to Surat*, p. 129, thought to designate this island, are utterly vague. No faith can be placed on this uncouth Greek nomenclature

of towns or places. Ptolemy, who depended entirely on the itineraries of travellers, erred often, and his copyists and commentators still more.

The whole importance of Bombay then in the early times arose from its lying in the vicinity of the renowned cities of Purí or the Elephanta island, and of Kalyán, Thána and Supára. While the Mauryan dynasty reigned at Purí, Kalyán must have been an entrepôt of considerable trade, while the towns of Sri Sthánaka and Supára were of secondary prominence. Cosmas Indicopleustes was the first Christian, before Marco Polo, who traded in the Red Sea, *circa* 535-550 A. D. Orosius about 400 A. D. vaguely follows Ptolemy. Cosmas speaks of the port of Kalliana (Kalyán), which is, however, supposed by some writers to be the Kalianpúr in south Kanara, where there was an old Christian community, and where there is now an ancient Church rebuilt by the Portuguese, which I had the pleasure to visit in September 1895. It was then being repaired since its cession to the new diocese of Mangalore.

Amongst the produce of Kalliana, Cosmas mentions brass vessels, sesamine logs, which is supposed to be *sisoo*, the wood of various species of *Dalbergia*, and, cotton-stuffs from Sindus, or Sindh, castorin or musk and spikenard, and pepper from Male or Malabar. In the mediæval times, during the rule of the Silaháras, Thána rose to a considerable importance, the silks or "Tanna stuffs" of all colours and stripes being highly appreciated. Marco Polo, who probably passed the monsoon of 1292 or 1293 at Thána, notices the incense of "the kingdom of Tana" (Thána). He writes :—"No pepper grows there, nor other spices, but plenty of incense . . . . . There is much traffic here, and many ships and merchants frequent the place, for there is a great export of leather of various excellent kinds, and also of good buckram and cotton. The merchants, in their ships, also import various articles, such as gold, silver, copper and other things in demand." Ibn Batuta, of Tangiers, from 1325 to 1349, also mentions Thána as a port of some trade and influence.

On the fall of Thána rose Bassein, and, about the beginning of the 17th century, Surat, on account of the opposition from the formidable and grimly powerful Inquisition. It became the chief port of embarkation for Mahomedan pilgrims to their holy places in Arabia and Persia, and eventually the seat of factories of not less than four European nations—the English, the Dutch, the French, and the Portuguese. But Surat had long before this acquired some import-

ance, having been known as early as the time of Friar Jordanus and Friar Odoric from 1280 to 1331.

Thus Bombay had all this time no chance of rising to any prominence as a trading port, on account of the powerful competitors around; nor could it lay any claim to royal charters or parchments of nobility. Unlike D. Manuel, the Fortunate, who on the 1st of March 1518 conferred a royal charter on the city of Goa, no Portuguese monarch ever thought of granting privileges to any of the other cities in India, not even to Bassein, which was the seat of the flower of the Portuguese aristocracy in the East. D. Manuel then wrote:—"Por esta presente carta nos praaz preuelegiarmos a dita cidade e de feito preuelegiamos, e queremos que para sempre seja realenga, e que nunca seja apartada da Corôa de nossos Reinos." *Arch. Port. Oriental*, V. II., p. 12. Thus Goa has for nearly four centuries remained attached to the Crown of Portugal, while no other city in India has had the privilege of being *realenga*, or 'royal,' 'noble,' etc.

As in order to know the member of a system it is often needful to study the centre, in order to investigate the state of society in Bombay about the middle of the 17th century it is necessary to study the condition of its capital of Bassein and of the country around. One of the best contemporary writers is Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino, who just about two score of years before the cession of Bombay was travelling here. The Roman patrician has left us a vivid description of all that he saw in his *Viaggi*, which I have quoted extensively in my "History of Bassein." An excellent little monograph, written since then by the late Ignazio Ciampi in the *Nuova Antologia*, and republished in Rome by Paolo Emilio Castagnola, in 1880, entitled "Della Vita e delle Opere di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino," gives a good summary of his observations. Ciampi writes:—"Having started from Surat to Damán, Bassein and Chaul, held by the Portuguese, he went to Goa. The Portuguese were not then many nor rich, especially after the losses suffered through the incursions of the English and the Dutch in those seas. Externally, however, they treated themselves with honour, although they suffered in secret. There were some who, instead of lowering themselves by the practice of a profession or trade which they considered unworthy of their positions, spent their lives in begging from their friends; it was more indecorous than to exercise some mechanical trade. All were priests, doctors in law or in medicine, soldiers, and merchants, and all carried swords and wore silks. The Jesuits had sumptuous houses and convents, held superb processions,

and in this had to compete with other numerous convents of monks," p. 92. Ignazio Ciampi quotes a Codex in the Riccardiana of Florence entitled *De'possedimenti de'Gesuiti in Goa*, which I expect shortly to examine on my arrival there next month. If interesting I shall communicate the result to the members of this learned Society. Its number is 2132. Another contemporary writer, Sir Thomas Roe, who was sent out in 1615 by James I., as ambassador to the court of the Moghal Emperor, Jehánghír, held a similar opinion of the Portuguese in India about seven years before Della Valle. In his letters to the Company he writes:—"The Portuguese, notwithstanding their many rich residences, are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies, since they defended them. Observe this well. It has also been the error of the Dutch, who seek plantations here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock; they prole in all places; they possess some of the best; yet their dead pays consume all the gain." He writes elsewhere:—"On my word, they (the Portuguese) are weak in India, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by supplies from Lisbon." From Lisbon no supplies could then come, because the metropolis had unfortunately none.

But the best, and yet little known, contemporary witness to the condition of Bombay and its surroundings at that time, is the Rev. Manuel Godinho, who made an overland journey to Europe in 1662. He undertook this journey in December 1662 and arrived at the Court of Portugal at the end of October 1663. The principal aim of this toilsome and dangerous undertaking, passing first from India through the Persian Gulf to Basra, thence through Mesopotamia to the port of Alexandretta, and by the Mediterranean to Marseilles, and ultimately from France to Portugal was to carry to the King the viceregal urgent correspondence relating to the cession of the island of Bombay to the British Crown.

His work, entitled "Relação do novo caminho que fez por terra e mar, vindo da India para Portugal, no anno de 1663, O Padre Manuel Godinho da Companhia de Jesus," was first published at Lisbon in 1665, a second edition appearing in 1842. Padre Godinho, who had obtained permission from Rome to leave the Society of Jesus, through the intervention of the Court of Portugal, became eventually a secular priest. He died in 1712, aged about 81 years.

Padre Manuel Godinho begins his book of travels with a description of Portuguese India thus:—"The State or the Lusitanian Indian

Empire, which once ruled over the whole East, consisting of 8,000 leagues of dominion, 29 chief cities of provinces, besides many others of minor account, that gave laws to 33 tributary kingdoms to the amazement of the world, with its broad limits, stupendous victories, great trade and immense wealth, is now either from sins or from fatality of a great Empire, reduced to a few settlements and cities, and it is hard to say whether that State was smaller at the beginning than at the end." p. 1. Thus grievously impressed with the diminution of the Portuguese Empire in the East, our traveller compares Portuguese power in Asia to the four stages of human life,—*viz.* :—infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. Its infancy began with the discovery of the route round the Cape of Good Hope to India during the happy reign of D. Manuel, and lasted 24 years, until that monarch's death. The youth extended over 35 years of the reign of D. João III., during which it grew and expanded. The age of perfect manhood was reached in the reign of D. Sebastião, and lasted from 1561 to 1600. During that period the national tendency was to preserve what had been acquired rather than to make new conquests. With 1600 began its old age, when the decline of the Portuguese in the East commenced. Various European powers deprived Portugal of her territories: the Dutch first, and the English afterwards. Although the latter had not deprived the Portuguese of so many places as the Dutch, still they were the first European nation to attack them, and, by aiding the Persians to conquer Ormuz, to prepare the way for the losses that followed. On perceiving their decline the Indian princes compelled the Portuguese to dismantle and evacuate the forts they had possessed in their territories, from Arrakan to Golconda, from Bengal to Kanara, from Muskat to Koriat. When once their prestige was lost, they were treated with scorn and contumely.

Padre Godinho went from Goa to Bassein, and from the latter city he proceeded to Surat, where he embarked for the Persian Gulf. He describes the city of Bassein and its environs in 1662 at length. As the condition of Bassein in those days also represented that of its dependencies, Bombay being one of them, I shall give a short summary of his description, which is in every way precise and accurate.

The city of Bassein was then surrounded by thick and high walls with eleven bastions at proportionate distances. Its circuit was a thousand geometrical paces. On one side the river formed a broad ditch, on the other the sea, and the rest was surrounded by water

from the river at high tides, making it an island. Its boundaries to the east and south-east were the kingdom of the Melique (Ahmednagar), to the north and north-east the territory of the Colle and Chouteá, a frontier country, against whose assaults there were the fortresses of Manorá and Asseri, and the palisade (*tranqueira*) of Saybana, where the Captain-General had pitched his camp.

The territory and jurisdiction of Bassein extended from the Dantorá river along eight leagues to Basscin, and southward to the islands of Bombay and Karanja, there was an additional distance of as many leagues. The extension towards the continent was six to seven leagues. In all this district there were more than two thousand villages, inhabited by all sorts of people: Mahomedans, Christians and Hindus, engaged in agriculture, trade and mechanical industry. All these villages were in the possession of Portuguese families (*casados*, literally 'married') settled in Bassein, by grants from His Majesty, who was in the habit of bestowing them for services, reserving for himself the quit-rent (*fôro*), which amounted to the tithe or the tenth part (*o dizimo*) of their income (*rendimento*)."

Thus the city of Bassein not only possessed noble edifices, but also noble families, there not being an illustrious house in Portugal of which some descendants could not be found there. Enchanted with the beautiful situation and the wholesome climate, the Fidalgos, or noblemen of Portuguese India, married and lived there, enjoying the large incomes they derived from the villages which the King had bestowed upon them for their services to the State, and passing on to their offspring from sons to grandsons, as among the heirs of great entailed estates (*morgados*) in Portugal. Padre Godinho ends by saying that there were so many *dons*, a title given to gentlemen and persons in post of honour in Portugal and Spain, among both men and women, that the city of Bassein itself came to be called Dom Bassein. (*São em Baçaim tantos os dons, assim de homens, como de mulheres, que vieram a chamar a aquella cidade dom Baçaim. Relação etc.*, p. 11.)

There were 300 Portuguese and 400 native Christian families, besides Hindus and Moslems, not to mention the surrounding districts, which furnished 5,000 armed men. Within the walls there were four religious orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits with their convents, churches and colleges. There were also two parish churches, *viz.*, the Cathedral with a prior and four beneficed clergymen, and the church of Nossa Senhora da Vida, besides various churches outside the walls. These were the

churches of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios under the Dominicans, that of Nossa Senhora das Merçês, whose Vicar was an Augustinian monk, the church of S. João under a secular clergyman, the churches of Nossa Senhora da Garça, S. Thomé and S. Miguel of Pury under the Jesuits, and those of Palle and of the Calvario under the Franciscans. There were many other churches in the lands and islands of the Bassein jurisdiction, some under secular clergymen and others under the Franciscans and Jesuits. The latter had, since the time of St. Francis Xavier, the seminary of the catechumens under their direction, where they had a large number of Mahomedans and Hindus to be instructed and catechised in the mysteries of the Christian faith with great profit to their souls.

In its secular affairs the city was governed by a captain, who had under him twelve others officers commanding the garrisons of the forts and trenches or palisades which defended the estates and islands in the district of Bassein. In spiritual matters it was governed by a Vigario da Vara, whose jurisdiction was confined to the city and its suburbs, because the other lands had their own Vigarios da Vara. In judicial affairs it was governed by an Ouvidor or Magistrate with the same extent of jurisdiction as the Captain. The revenues were administered by a Factor, appointed by the King.

All these offices excepting that of the Vigario da Vara, were triennial. The environs of Bassein were very cool (*fresquissimo*) and the neighbouring estates were full of tanks and plantations, rich in all kinds of Indian fruits, in which this city excelled all the northern localities, as it did also in the great quantity of cane sugar produced and collected yearly at the *caçabé*, and sold to the English, Turks, Gujaratis, Arabs and Baniás. Rice was equally abundant, constituting the ordinary food in those parts, and was exported from Bassein in all directions. Wheat was not produced in the territory of Bassein, but a great deal of it arrived there from the country of the Moslems, who brought it in caravans consisting of from ten to twenty thousand bullocks, reloading with salt, which they took back to the interior or mainland (*sertão*). There was also great abundance of timber brought from the territory of the Colle, which arrived by water, and, for this reason, all the fustas of the oar or rowing fleets maintained by the King in India were built in the Bassein river. Very beautiful and strong galleons, galeots, and patachos were constructed of teakwood by native workmen, Mahomedan and Hindus, who were master builders, under the superintendence of Portuguese officers.

"In conclusion," says Padre Godinho, "the land of Bassein is very healthy, on account of its clear weather, temperate heat, and wholesome climate. The water generally used in the city is brought from a fountain, which is on the other side of the river, at a point that juts out to the sea from the island of Sálsette, near the fort of the Agoada or watering place, in the village of Dungry. It is brought in boats for sale. The common people drink water from wells and tanks." *Ibid.*, p. 13.

From this description it seems that the effects of the terrible hurricane which had swept over the whole group of the Bombay islands in 1618 (referred to while treating of the religious institutions of Bombay and its neighbourhood) had either been repaired or forgotten

This great disaster following an epidemic, "which few escaped, though most recovered," began on the 15th of May 1618. It has been described by one writer thus :—"The sky clouded, thunder burst, and a mighty wind rose. Towards nightfall a whirlwind raised the waves so high that the people, half dead from fear, thought that their city would be swallowed up. Many provision boats, which were lying at anchor off the shore, were dashed to pieces. In the city and in the villages, houses were thrown down or made unfit to live in. The monasteries and convents of the Franciscans and Augustinians were utterly ruined. The three largest churches in the city and both the house and the church of the Jesuits were unroofed and gaped in clefts almost past repair. Nothing was more hideous than the destruction of the palm groves. Thousands of palms were torn out by the roots, and some the wind lifted through the air like feathers and carried great distances. The whole was like the ruin at the end of all things." *The Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV., p. 31. When the superior of the Jesuit College at Bassien, Fr. Manuel da Costa, died some time before the hurricane, he was said to have foretold that the city was about to be visited with a grievous punishment. There were great sinners at Bassein in those days.

There is a graphic account of this hurricane in the *Asia Portugueza*, by Faria e Souza, Vol. III. He writes :—"In May 1618 a general and diabolical storm occurred in the neighbourhood of Bombaim. It began at Baçaim on the 15th of that month and continued with such violence that the people hid themselves in cellars, in continued dread lest their dwellings should be levelled with the earth ; and at 2 p. m. an earthquake destroyed many houses. The sea was brought into the city by the wind ; the waves roared fearfully ; the tops of the churches

were blown off, and immense stones were driven to vast distances; two thousand persons were killed; the fish died in the ponds, and most of the churches, as the tempest advanced, were utterly destroyed. Many vessels were lost in the port. At Bombaim sixty sail of vessels with their cargoes and some of their crews, foundered." Cf. Cordara's *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, Vol. VI., p. 162; also *Madras Journal*, Vol. V., p. 175.

This storm took place six years after the settlement of the English at Surat. Many years later, when Pietro Della Valle visited Bassein (*Vaggi*, III., 131), he noticed that many buildings were ruined from the great hurricane that had blown a few years before. As late as 1670 Ogilby (Atlas, V., 214) speaks of an earthquake, which, in the beginning of the century, had swallowed many houses, in the room of which new ones had been built. But in 1670 this appears to have been a mere tradition, as Fr. Godinho, who knew all about Bassein, does not mention anything about it in 1662. If it was a fact the houses must have been rebuilt, and the general prosperity of the district of Bassein was fully restored, notwithstanding the calamity of scarcity supervening the disastrous hurricane, just as an epidemic of some sort of disease had preceded it.

This pestilence seems, from the symptoms described by contemporary writers, to have been the plague with which during the last two years we have become so sadly familiar. It was, however, about the end of the century that a general outbreak of this disease took place. At first, at Agra, it continued for three successive years; the epidemic appeared in the Emperor Aurangzebe's camp in 1684, and again in 1689; at Surat in 1684 and in 1690; at Bassein in 1690, as well as at Bulsar; at Tatta, in Sind, in 1696, and in Bombay at intervals from 1689 to 1702. It reappeared again at intervals in different places in the nineteenth century, but possessing no great force or virulence until the present visitation which approaches more in character the epidemics of 200 years ago.

Dr. Gemelli Careri, who visited Bassein in 1695, writes :—"They (the inhabitants of Bassein) go thither (the gardens) in the hottest weather to take the air, and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called *carazzo*, that used to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities." *A Voyage round the World*, in *Churchill's Voyages*, Vol. IV., p. 191. The word *carazzo* is evidently a

misspelling for the Portuguese *caroço*, which means a stone in some sort of fruit such as cherry or olive. The Emperor Jehangir in his *Memoirs* or autobiography, relating to the 13th year of that Monarch's reign, *circa* A. H. 1028, and some contemporary Mahomedan authors also refer to the pestilence as originating in a "*goli*" or "*dhana*". These words are vernacular, being derived from गोळी *goli* which means a bullet, or a pill, and धन्य (*dhanya*) which means "grain" or "corn" indicating, like *caroço*, the nature of the enlargement of the lymphatic glands.

Since Bombay has had a written history great hurricanes, exclusive of frequent minor cyclonic disturbances, appears to have been visiting it periodically, at least once every century. After the disastrous hurricane of the 15th of May 1618, there was one other on the 11th of September 1742, and a third one on the 15th of June 1837. *Selections, etc.*, Vol. I., p. XLIV., have the following:—"On the 11th September 1742 Bombay was visited by a cyclone which brought great devastation. The Records state that the gale was so excessive, 'as has not been exceeded in the memory of any one now on the spot.' Together with the wind, there was rain which poured down in torrents. All the ships in harbour were forced from their anchors. The royal ships 'Somerset' and 'Salisbury' running foul of each other were much damaged, and a large vessel belonging to a Mahomedan gentleman was driven ashore. The front house at Mazagon was unroofed by the force of the wind, and a battery the Drive, the walls of which were of stones, and several small guardhouses were blown down."

Referring to the hurricane of 1742 the *Materials*, etc., Vol. I., p. 280, says:—"This day had an exceedingly hard storm of wind and rain. The ships in the road drove from their anchors, and a large Moor ship parting her cables ran ashore between Cross Island and Dongrie. The Somersett and Salisbury ran foul, the Somersett breaking her main yard and part of the quarter galley, and receiving, it is believed, other damage; the Salisbury's head was carried away and part of the cutwater. The gale was so excessive as not been exceeded in the memory of many now on the spot." The Mazagon Fort house was untiled, the thatched posts at Cooley and Sidi Bandars were blown down; the Drong Battery, Suri (Sewri) houses and sheds were also untiled, and Kandala and Marine Batteries damaged.

Regarding the hurricane of the year 1837 the *Monthly Miscellany*, p. 68, says:—"On the 15th June 1837, Bombay was the scene of

an awful storm—it rained and blew, and howled furiously: trees and houses were torn down: the island was deluged with water; on the Bombay green (the place now occupied by the gardens in front of the Town Hall) the water which had collected rose to the waist, numbers of shipping were torn from their anchorages and were driven up or down the harbour—the loss on that eventful night has been computed at not less than £ 300,000 to property in various forms; and the loss of numbers of lives."

The *Bombay Gazette* of that week has the following:—"The bay was strewn with bales of cotton and wrecks of boats and ships; in the Back Bay the dead were washed out of their graves and floated about the shore . . . . The roofs of the terraces in the Fort were carried away in the mass and were to be seen floating along on the wind as if they had been but mere Pullicat handkerchiefs. Out of nearly fifty vessels in the harbour scarcely more than six were to be found which had not suffered from the gale." Four hundred houses in the town are said to have been destroyed, and the East India Company lost two steamers and two ships of its fleet.

Besides these great periodic hurricanes occurring once in a century, there have been occasional minor cyclones not less disastrous in causing ravages. One of these took place on the 5th of September 1698, when Bombay was visited by a hard gust of wind from the east and south-east with thunder, lightning and rain, which continued for some time; but no great harm was done. *Materials*, etc., Vol. I., p. 14. On the 30th of November 1702 a furious storm destroyed all the small boats of the island, and the mango, jack and palm trees were blown down. The wind destroyed almost the whole produce of the island and wrecked the greater part of the shipping. *Ibid.*, p. 139; and Bruce's *Annals*, III., pp. 502-3. This terrible cyclone was preceded by an outbreak of the plague, which carried off some hundreds of its inhabitants, reducing the Europeans to the small number of seventy-six men.

On the 9th of November 1740 another frightful storm in Bombay destroyed three grabs completely armed and equipped. Again, on a Sunday, the 7th of March 1762, a very violent gale of wind did considerable damage to the small craft in and about the harbour, throwing down great quantities of the cocoanut trees, and in other respects greatly damaging most of the oarts (*hortas*) and houses on the island. *Ibid.*, p. 348. Then another terrific storm passed over Bombay in November 1799, but although the water was very much agitated

not a single stone was displaced. *Ibid.*, p. 431. This was followed by the great fire of 1803, which calamitous event caused the loss to the town of about twenty lakhs of rupees in house property and about thirty lakhs of merchandise and movables. But to this great misfortune I shall refer again further on. The last severe storm was that of 1854, which also caused considerable damage to the island.

We have no trustworthy statistical records of the several divisions of the province of Bassein. There is, however, an article, under the heading of Baçaim, in the *Gabinete Litterario* of 1850, Vol. IV., p. 217, which bears no date, but which states that its statistics were collected subsequent to the cession of Bombay. It carries the information of its revenue down to 1720, which is less than two decades earlier than the capture of the district by the Maráthas on the 19th of May 1739. Though I cannot guarantee its authenticity still it is worth while to translate it, as it is interesting. It runs thus :—" 1. The *Saibana de Baçaim* comprehends the *caçabe* (villa) of the same name, with 16 pacarias and 8 hortas, the *caçabe de Agaçaim* with 20 pacarias and 10 *hortas* The *pragana Salga*, with 18 villages (*aldeas*) and 3 lands (*terras*). The *pragana Hera* with 20 villages. The *pragana Cama* with 25 villages and 2 sarretores. The *pragana* Anjor with 18 villages and 7 sarretores. 2. The *caçabé de Tanam* had 8 pacarias. 3. The island of Sálsette had a *pragana* with 95 villages. 4. The *island of Caranja* had the *caçabé* of the island, the land (*terra*) of Bendolac and the three islands of Navem, Seveon and of the Elephant. 5. The island of *Bella flôr de Sambayo* had the *pragana Panachena* with 30 villages. The *pragana Cairana* with 17 villages, and the *pragana de Sambayo* with 17 villages. 6. The *Pragana Manorá* had 42 villages, and one sarretor. Lastly *Pragana Asserim* had 38 villages and 6 pacarias.

"The fort of Bassein of the Invocation of St. Sebastian was built on the 20th of January 1535 by Nuno da Cunha, that date being dedicated to that saint. It consisted of a wall with bastions, furnished with 90 pieces of ordnance, of which 27 were of bronze, and 70 swivel-guns, 7 being of bronze. The other districts were also fortified with different bastions, forts and towers, furnished with 127 pieces of ordnance, of which 33 were of bronze, and 118 of swivel-guns. There were 21 vessels equipped with artillery, some with 18 and others with 16 cannons. Its population in 1720 was 60,499, of which 58,131 were Christians and 890 Europeans. Its revenue in 1686 was 172,920 xerafins, and expenditure

91,583; in 1709 revenue 194,798, expenditure 100,161; in 1718-1719, revenue 310,779, expenditure 315,426; in 1729 revenue amounting to 914,125.

"The religious edifices were the Cathedral (Sé Matriz) with one vicar and four beneficed clergymen, 13 churches, 5 convents, and one retreat for girls. The ecclesiastical expense amounted to 14,367."

This short extract gives us a more or less accurate idea of the condition of the surroundings of Bombay some few years after its cession. The *Recolhimento de Donzellas* or "Retreat for Girls" was an institution for receiving young ladies, mostly orphans. There was no nunnery in Bassein, but the wealthy citizens of that once rich city had contributed towards a fund raised by two hundred Tertiary sisters to erect a monastery for the nuns of St. Clara. The sums collected amounted to 200,000 xerafins, a fairly large sum considering the high value of money at that period. But the erection of the nunnery of St. Monica, founded in 1606 by the celebrated Archbishop, D. Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, who gave it the rule of St. Augustine, prevented the idea of building the monastery of St. Clara being carried out. The amount collected was then handed over to Fr. Miguel de S. Boaventura, who with those 200,000 xerafins built in 1602 the college of St. Bonaventure of the Order of the Franciscans, at some distance and to the west of their chief house in Goa. This college, which was considerably improved by the Provincial Fr. Antonio de Padua, was sufficiently large, although its church was rather small. It was destined for the young professed members of the Order who had just entered on their studies of philosophy and theology.

The church and convent of St. Monica to which Archbishop Menezes gave the rule of St. Augustine, dedicating it to the holy mother of that celebrated doctor, has some historical interest for Bombay. The principal ladies who first entered the monastery of St. Monica were two ladies from Thána, D. Philippa Ferreira and D. Maria de Sá, mother and daughter who, after their profession as nuns, assumed the names of Soror Philippa da Trindade and Soror Maria do Espirito Santo. See M. V. d' Abreu's *Real Mosteiro de Santa Monica*, Nova-Goa, 1882, pp. XVIII., *et seq.*

The story connected with the foundation of this nunnery is highly interesting, but there is hardly room here for more than a reference to a few salient points. D. Philippa Ferreira was born at Ormuz, daughter of Belchior Cerniche and Elena Mendes. She married Gaspar Lousada de Sá of Thána about 1580. A daughter was born to them on the

7th of June 1589, and when the child had reached her sixth year her father died. D. Philippa was grieved and gave up the world, its lust and its pride, although she had been brought up in great luxury, and had not less than 200 female slaves amongst her servants, her husband being a sort of Christian Nabáb in the city of Thána, amongst the other nabábs and rájas. Having one day fallen sick she made a vow to go to Bassein and perform a *novena* or nine days devotion in honour of S. Nicolau Tolentino in the church of the Augustine monks in that city. Here the curate of the church, Frei Diogo de Sant Anna, having highly appreciated her virtues, recommended her as well as her daughter to the Archbishop to be received as nuns. On the way from Bassein to Goa they suffered a shipwreck and lost a considerable fortune. But without losing their presence of mind they embarked on board another vessel and arrived at Goa in 1604. The convent of St. Monica having been built, Soror Philippa was appointed its first prioress. She died on the 8th of July 1626, when her daughter, fairer than her fair mother, who might have been greeted in the words of Horace:—"*O Matre pulchra filia pulchrior*," was elected to fill up the place.

She died on the 15th of August 1619. Her epitaph says:—"The mortal remains of the servant of God, Maria do Espirito Santo, a native of Thána, and founder of this monastery, died on the 15th of August 1619." *Opus cit.* p. 22.

Of the 661 nuns professed into the monastery of St. Monica in Goa, from the 7th of September 1607 to the 31st of December 1834, when the admissions ceased, there were 2 ladies from Bombay, 1 from Máhim, 33 from Bassein, 4 from Tarapur, 1 from Surat and 14 from Damán. *Ibid*, p. 146.

In the year 1697, a little over three decades after Bombay was ceded to the British Crown, the province of Bassein was decaying rapidly, although the religious element showed yet no sign of any palpable decline. Padre Francisco de Souza, then wrote:—"This city (Bassein), formerly rich and populous, now poor and much ruined, . . lies 72 leagues distant from Goa. It is surrounded by beautiful walls . . . . There are three convents of the religious, one of St. Dominic, the second of St. Augustine and the third of St. Francis'; one college of the Society (of Jesus) with a seminary, a house for the catechumens, a school for boys, and a grammar class. There is a house of the Misericordia and hospital under the direction of the Brothers of St. John of God. The number of families does

not exceed 3,400, divided into two parishes, among whom there may be 500 Hindus. The population of the whole territory belonging to this province (Comarca), exclusive of the island of Sálsette, is more than 31,000 souls, of whom 17,000 are Gentiles and 14,000 Christians, distributed among eleven parishes under secular clergy and religious mendicants." *Oriente Conquistado*, C. 1, D. 1, p. 55.

Fifteen years later a native secular clergyman by name Leonardo Paes, who wrote a curious little work on miscellaneous subjects, from astronomy to the description of Bassein, which he writes Baçaym and also Baçay, gives a short account of Bombay and its surroundings, as they were known to the Portuguese priest in 1712. He says that the Bassein Fort had eleven bastions, whose names he gives at length, while Chaul had only nine, with their respective names, mostly derived from Saints. In the city of Bassein, besides the cathedral (*Igreja Matriz*) with its *vigario da vara* and four *beneficiados*, there was the church of the Misericordia, the parish church of Nossa Senhora da Vida, and that of Nossa Senhora da Annunciacão under the care of the monks of St. Augustine. There were also the convents of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. John of God, the College of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and one Retreat for girls. Outside the Fort, northwards, there were the hermitage (*Ermida*) with a chapel attached to it of St. Lazarus, and the parish churches of S. João, N. Senhora dos Remedios, N. Senhora das Mercês, and Monte Calvario of the Franciscans; eastwards the churches of N. Senhora da Graça, S. Thomé, and S. Miguel of Pury in charge of the Jesuits. The territory of Bassein produced much rice, wheat, the sugar-cane, of which sugar was manufactured, and great abundance of plantains.

"To the district of Bassein," he says, "belonged Karanja with its Fort, Bellaflor (Belapur) and the great island of Sálsette, with the celebrated town of Thána, which is vast and has several convents, and the towns of *Mahym*, *Bandora* and *Bombaim*, all separated by rivers. On the other side of Bombay, in the villages of His Majesty of the Bassein jurisdiction, there was a Hindu Captain, a Rajput by name Patecar, who with 500 lascars and 20 horses defended them. The King had granted him twenty-four villages, which once belonged to the Sabayo, as mentioned by Diogo do Couto (*Dec.* 8, *Lib.* 1, *Cap.* 30), the last possessor of these villages being Essagy Rage Patecar."

"In the island of Sálsette there is the harbour and Fort of Versova, which the Arabs invaded on the 26th of February 1700, during the viceroyalty of the Almotacer A. L. G. da Camara Coutinho, with

four frigates and twelve tarrequins (also written tarranquins, probably the *taforeas* of the time of Albuquerque, a sort of Indian ships) and 1,500 men." *Promptuario*, etc., p. 63-64.

The fort of Versová was taken possession of by the Arabs at a time when the garrisons of the province of Bassein were engaged in a war with the chieftain of Janjira. But the general of Bassein, Pedro Vas Soares Bacelar, went with a handful of men to oppose him, when the Arabs evacuated Versová and marched to Bandora, landing at the village of Manorym. Some troops from Damán, and two frigates that came in time from Goa to convey the fleet of the north, under the command of Fernão Sodré, who was wounded in the action, fought bravely against the enemy, compelling him to retreat after suffering a great loss.

The fort of Chaul had nine bastions, as mentioned by Leonardo Paes, almost all bearing the names of Saints. There were six churches there within the walls—the Cathedral, the Misericordia, St. Paul, the College of the Society of Jesus, and the monasteries of St. Dominic, St. Augustine and St. Francis. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

The last written Portuguese record of the condition of the territory in the neighbourhood of Bombay is a report on the defences of the city of Bassein and its dependencies, written by André Ribeiro Coutinho in 1728. But this is a technical or military report, and has hardly anything to do with the social and religious condition of the people around Bombay. *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I., pp. 29 *et seq.* About twelve years afterwards the province of Bassein was lost. Of the Portuguese rule after the extinction of its political power, there remained but two vestiges, religious and social, both of them happily durable in their effects.

Of the numerous convents, churches, colleges, chapels and hermitages under the Bassein jurisdiction there are now but few extant, repaired or rebuilt, most of them being in complete ruins or having entirely disappeared. Some new churches have been built, since the cession of Bombay, and the capture of Bassein, of Thána and of Karanja by the Maráthas, but they are poor structures compared with the imposing buildings of the prosperous period of the Portuguese rule in India.

Of the churches extant, old and new, the largest number now belongs to the diocese of the Bishop of Damán, since the establishment of the regular Roman Catholic hierarchy in India in 1887. The Roman Catholic Church in India has now attained to a higher

degree of organization both by the institution of episcopates and by the formation of new dioceses. The creation of the new diocese of Damán to which is annexed the title of Archbishop *ad honorem* of Cranganore, may be traced to the Bull *Humanæ salutis* of the 1st of September 1886, subsequent to the signing of the concordat between the Holy See and His Majesty the King of Portugal, D. Luiz I, on the 23rd of June of that year. This diocese embraces among other districts the city of Bombay, the *varado* of Thaná and the island and district of Bassein. In the island of Bombay, exclusive of the churches belonging to the Jesuit mission of the *Propoganda Fide*, all built after the cession of Bombay, there are 5 Portuguese churches, three of them being anterior to the cession, and 6 filial chapels. The population of these parishes amounts to 25,480 souls. The Varado of Thaná, so called from being under the direct administration of a *Vigario da Vara*, an ecclesiastical dignitary subordinate to the Bishop of the diocese, embraces the islands of Sálsette, Daravi, and Uran or Karanja. There are in this varado 18 chief churches, 5 aggregated and 7 filial chapels, the Christian population subject to that Varado being 25,516. The island and district of Bassein possess 10 churches and 1 filial chapel, its Catholic population amounting to 16,232 souls.

At the time of the cession of Bombay to the British the Portuguese monuments besides the castle with its fort, priory and warehouse, were two churches in Bombay, two in Máhim and a private chapel at Mazagon, which was eventually raised to the rank of a parish church, after rebuilding and enlargning the old temple, of which I shall treat more at length hereafter.

The following extract from the travels of Dr. Fryer begun in 1672 and finished in 1681, affords accurate information of the condition of Bombay at that period. After describing the Bombay Castle, which he considered to be "a pretty well seated, but ill-fortified house; four brass guns being the defence of the whole island, unless a few chambers housed in small towers, in convenient places to scour the Malabars, who heretofore have been more insolent than of late; adverting not only to seize their cattle, but depopulate whole villages by their outrages." Dr. Fryer refers to the environs of the Castle as "a delicate garden, voiced to be the pleasantest in India; intended rather for wanton dalliance, love's artillery, than to make resistance against an invading foe." The town was at some distance from the Fort, "in which confusedly lived the English, Portu-

guese, Topazes, Gentoos, Moors, Cooly Christians, most fishermen," a town, moreover, that was "a full mile in length, the houses are low, and thatched with oleas (the Portuguese *ola or olla*, adopted from Tulu, the leaf of the palm-tree) of the cocoa-trees, all but a few the Portugals left, and some few the Company have built." Then passing through the town he noticed that "the custom-house, and warehouses are tiled or plastered, and instead of glass, use panes of oyster-shells for their windows." There was also a fairly handsome bazar at the end of the town, looking into the field, where cows and buffaloes grazed. Dr. Fryer finally found that in this field (modern Esplanade, where cows and buffaloes are still grazing) "the Portuguese have a pretty house and church with orchards of Indian fruit adjoining." *A New Account, etc.*, pp. 63—67.

This pretty house and church, the only parish church of the island of Bombay, was situated in the middle of the field or Esplanade, with "orchards of Indian fruit adjoining." It had in front a little cross on a stone pedestal about four feet high, which was standing on the original site, transferred to where the Elphinstone High School now is, and visible as late as 1867, when it was removed to make room for the buildings which have risen since then and now occupy its place. This Church on the Esplanade, whose exact site is now unknown, was probably situated to the east of the Cruickshank Road, over against the white stone cross near the Marine Lines. Its walls once witnessed a scene which in April 1687 caused a great commotion and stir in the little Christian community of the island. It was nothing less than the conversion of a Protestant to the Roman Catholic faith. The proselyte was one Nathannel Thorpe, son of Lieutenant Thorpe, deceased. The Portuguese priest who christened and received him in his own parish church was a Franciscan, Frey João da Gloria. This conversion, as the Deputy-Governor Sir J. Wyborne and Council at Bombay informed His Excellency and Council at Surat, on the 15th of April 1687, was "a business of ill consequence."

The priest having been guilty of high treason for having persuaded a British subject to withdraw from his obedience to his King to that of the Pope, was legally apprehended. Although the priest went of his own accord to the Deputy-Governor to beg his pardon, confessing at the same time that Thorpe had come to him to be made a Roman Catholic several times before he did it, still the poor priest

was kept in custody until further orders were received from His Excellency of Surat about him. Thorpe, on the other hand, when apprehended and brought to examination, said that the priest had told him that it was much better for his soul to be a Roman Catholic than to live in the English Church. He was thereupon set free. Frey João, however, was committed by Judge Vauxe on the 11th of April 1687 a prisoner to the county jail in the bazár, and laid in the room where Thorborn was. At last by the earnest intercession of the Vicar of Máhim and another Padre, the Deputy-Governor Mr. Stanley and Mr. Jessop ordered him to be removed from the common jail to his own parish church "where he is confined with a guard over him to see that he does not escape nor act in the church until your Excellency's pleasure be known what shall be done in the matter." The result is not known. *Selections*, Vol. I., pp. 157-158. Cf. *Materials*, Vol. III., pp. 527-528.

At a consultation held on the 10th of May 1739 it was resolved that a clearance round the Town Wall should be made. Although the passes of the island were rendered defensible, the town wall, being no more than eleven feet in height reckoning up to the cordon, was thought to be unfit to resist batteries from an enemy determined to effect a landing on the island. And the cocoa-nut trees and houses near the wall, besides the shelter they would give to an attacking force, would furnish ready material for raising batteries. It was therefore resolved that a line of one hundred yards be drawn round the town wall, by cutting down the cocoa-nut trees and demolishing the houses. It was also resolved that a computation be made of the value of all trees and houses that may be necessary to remove within that space.

This resolution does not seem to have been carried out for some time, for as late as 1742 it is said that the removal of all trees and houses round the town wall, to the distance of at least point blank shot, would cause expense and loss to the island amounting to a very great sum. *Materials*, Vol. II., pp. 438 *et seq.* But about March 1757, from a petition addressed by the Bombay fazandars (Portuguese *fazendeiros* or proprietors) praying a consideration for their cocoa-nut trees cut down within that distance, it appears that the Government passed another resolution to cut down trees within the distance of 400 yards round the town wall.

And now came the turn of the Portuguese church on the Esplanade to be removed. On the 29th of July 1760 it is recorded that the

Portuguese church being considerably within 400 yards of the town wall and some of the walls being four feet thick and built of chunam and stone, it would prove of the utmost consequence to the defence of the island if attacked by a European enemy. The principal engineer was therefore directed to give the priests belonging to the church notice to pull down the said church and pitch it in a proper place to which the materials would be removed and the church rebuilt. *Ibid*, p. 531, and vol. II, pp. 332-33.

Within a few days from receiving the notice, the three priests belonging to the Portuguese church on the Esplanade said that they were ready to comply with the orders to pull down the church, but were in want of workmen and a proper site for rebuilding it. It was then arranged that there being no other people to spare, they should get the Christian Militia, and, as for a proper spot for rebuilding the Portuguese church, it was inquired of the owner of the Umarkhádi house at what terms he was willing to dispose of it, as well as whether Abraham Báva, proprietor of the oart (*horta*) Kolbhát, would permit of houses being built therein for the inhabitants on the proposed terms, the Collector being directed to give one of the Honourable Company's oarts (*hortas*) in exchange for Kolbhát. At last one Manuel Barreto sold his oart (Portuguese *horta*), which was valued by the vereadores (another Portuguese term to be explained hereafter) of Bombay at Rs. 1,019 and received in exchange the oarts (*hortas*) Beliauri and Bombála at Máhim, belonging to the Honorable Company, which were valued by the vereadores at Rs. 988.

The valuation of the Portuguese church on the Esplanade was estimated in 1760 at Rs. 18,675-3-95, being Rs. 7,565-3-75 less than that computed by Captain Hugh Cameron in 1755, the decrease being chiefly due to Captain Cameron having allowed for the church wall according to its present thickness of four feet, whereas $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet were sufficient for the new church. *Ibid*. Vol. III., p. 532.

It is thus evident that the Portuguese church on the Esplanade was a strong building, in return for which the three priests obtained a rickety church, which soon required rebuilding. A writer in the *Monthly Miscellany*, 1850, p. 24, says:—"Of these latter (churches), is the Cathedral Church of *Nossa Senhora de Esperança* (Our Lady of Hope) in Kalkadevi, built within the last twenty years upon ground allotment and funds provided by Government, for an edifice existing upon the Esplanade and almost facing the Elphin-

stone Institution (the old Elphinstone High School to the eastward of the Small Causes Court), the Government requiring the plot (or additional room) for the manœuvres of the soldiery stationed upon the island. This church is generally entrusted to the Vicar-General of the Pope's party, and that recognised by the Government."

According to a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III., p. 34: "There were three forts in addition to the Castle, five Portuguese Churches, and the stunted walls of an English Church which had been commenced by Sir George Oxenden. The Court of Directors had sent out an order in 1710 that all cocoa-nut and toddy-trees standing within a mile of the principal fort should be felled, but it was some time before this was strictly enforced." It was not until 50 years later that this order was carried out.

Then in the same *Review*, Vol. v., p. 168, it is said that "The arrangements without the walls were so bad, that the town was ill-fitted to resist an invasion of a regular army. It was commanded by an eminence, forty-nine and a quarter feet in height, and three hundred and thirty feet yards distant from the Mandavie bastion, called Dungaree hill. To prevent this from falling into the enemy's hands, a small tower had been raised, but it was slightly built, and could easily be approached under cover of houses, hedges, and an old Roman Catholic Church. Indeed the weakness of all the fortifications at once struck the eye of even unscientific men, and it was obvious that the works of defence had little connection or harmony with one another." The strange vicissitudes this "Old Roman Catholic Church" has undergone during the last century and a half will be treated of at length in the Appendix C.

With regard to the industry and agriculture of Bombay, which seem to have remained unaltered during the Portuguese period down to the cession of the island to the British, Dr. Fryer writes:— "On the backside of the towns of Bombaim and Maijm (Bombay and Máhim) are woods of cocoes (under which inhabit the Banderines,— Bhandáris,—those that prune and cultivate them), these hortoes (hortas) being the greatest purchase and estates of the island, for some miles together, till the sea breaks in between them, over against which, up the bay a mile, lies Massegoung (Mazagon), a great fishing town, peculiarly notable for a fish called bumbelo, the sustenance of the poorer sort, who live on them and batty, a coarse sort of rice, and the wine of the cocoe called toddy. The ground between this and the great breach is well ploughed, and bears good batty.

Here the Portuguese have another church and religious house belonging to the Franciscans."

"Beyond it is Parell, where they have another church, and demesnes belonging to the Jesuits, to which appertains Siam (Sion) manured by Columbeens (Kunbis), husbandmen, where live the Frasses (Portuguese *farazes* a corruption of *parias*) or porters also, each of which tribes have a mandadore (Portuguese *mandador*) or superintendent, who give an account of them to the English, and being born under the same degree of slavery, are generally more tyrannical than a stranger would be towards them; so that there needs no other taskmaster than one of their own tribe, to keep them in awe by a rigid subjection." *Opus cit*, p. 67.

Both the Mazagon and Parel churches belonged to the Franciscans, but the demesnes of Parel to the Jesuits. The churches of *Nossa Senhora da Esperança*, on the Esplanade, one of the oldest of the five churches, including the two at Upper and Lower Máhim or S. Miguel and Nossa Senhora da Salvação, respectively, also belonged to the Franciscans. The invocation of Nossa Senhora da Esperança was common to this order. They had one in Goa, in the village of Candolim, and several others in the province of Bardez. That of Candolim is still extant, having been built in 1560. This village was the residence of the celebrated family of the Pintos, some of whose members were at the end of the last and beginning of present century distinguished military officers in the army of the Peshwa in the Deccan. They are referred to by Grant Duff in his *History of the Maráthas*, and by other writers of that eventful period. This church as well as that of Nagoa in Bardez were built in the same year, during the government of the famous prelate D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira. The Parel church was eventually turned into a Government House, and is now a Hospital for contagious diseases.

Referring to the Roman Catholic Churches of Bombay it may be useful to allude here in detail to their foundation, endowments and the various changes they have undergone during the Portuguese period down to the present time. The ancient constitution of the island being feudal, the crown lands were granted to private individuals and to religious corporations on the payment of a quit-rent for a fixed period or in perpetuity. The Jesuits of Bandora claimed for themselves as well as for their college and mission in Japan a considerable extent of land in those villages and other rights in the

island, of which I shall speak further on. The monastery of St. Monica in Goa was also the owner of one or more villages in the island of Sálsette.

Later on, a chapel, raised in course of time to the rank of the church of Mazagon, was built, and also placed in the charge of the Franciscans, the first Lord of the Manor of Mazagon, Antonio Pessoa, and his descendants, Souzas and Tavoras, making considerable endowments to it. This church was enlarged and rebuilt in the 17th century by Ruy de Souza. Then it was renewed in June 1810, and blessed by the visitor sent by the Archbishop of Goa, Padre João de Souza e Silva, on the 1st of October 1811, and lastly consecrated by the Archbishop Torres on the 15th of February 1844. It is one of the largest churches in Bombay, and well situated.

The grants or leases of villages in Bombay, dating from the year 1534, often changed hands very rapidly. With the exception of one lease, however, by Martim Affonso de Souza, all the others were effected during the viceroyalty of D. João De Castro; and the names of the grantees varied considerably within a short period by death or purchase, as well as by abandonment or exchange. Simão Botelho himself was aware of this when he wrote :—"Some of these villages were abandoned, others lapsed by death, some were granted to new persons and others were rented. Thus no credit can be given to names of persons to whom the villages were granted (in 1548). For this reason I make here this declaration signed by me to-day, the 10th of October 1554." *Tombo*, p. 205. This declaration clears up many difficulties, for the repeated changes in the names of the grantees within a short time caused considerable confusion in the sequence of events. This was the case with the lease of the four villages of Parel, Vadála, Sion and Varlí, written by Botelho Parell, Varella, Syva and Varell. They were granted by D. João de Castro in 1548 and confirmed by the Viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha (1550-1554) to Manuel Serrão for the quit-rent of 412 pardaos a year. *Ibid*, p. 157. But at the time of the cession of this island to the British, all these villages, with the exception of Varlí, which formed an annexe of the manor of Mazagon and the property of the Tavoras, belonged to the Jesuits of Bandora, and were within a few years confiscated by the East India Company, as we shall see further on. The same may be said of the island of Purí or the Elephanta, which in 1548 was leased to João Pires for 105 pardaos (*Ibid*, p. 158);

but was in 1634, according to Antonio Bocarro, the property of the Captain of the Fort of Karanja, Fernão de Sampayo da Cunha. (*O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., p. 261.)

Again, the island of Bombay was in 1548 the property of Mestre Diogo, who paid annually the quit-rent of 1432½ pardaos. (*Ibid*, p. 161.) In 1563 it was owned, as we have seen above, by Garcia da Orta. (*Colloquios*, 22,28 and 34.) And at the time of its cession to the British Crown it was the property of D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto, as proved by the convention of Humphrey Cooke.

It is a singular coincidence, that, like the seven districts of the province of Bassein, the island of Bombay should also be divided by the early Portuguese into seven villages, *viz*:—Mahim, Bombaim, Parell, Varella, Syva, Varell and Mazaguão. Máhim was the caçabé or head of the group, and had its own mandovim or custom-house. It was not leased as a whole to any one. It must have been parcelled out into many leases, as was the case later on. The remaining six villages, out of which four, according to Simão Botelho, were declared to have been leased, in 1548, to Manuel Serrão, *viz*:—Parel, Vadála, Sion and Varlí, were all of them annexed to the caçabé of Máhim. And the large village of Mazagon was granted to Antonio Pessoa, a conspicuous figure in the early annals of the Portuguese in Western India.

Antonio Pessoa is mentioned as a brave Captain of both army and navy, by Gaspar Correa, as was the case in those days, of promiscuous employment and general usefulness. In 1525 during the Governorship of D. Henrique de Menezes, o Roxo, he was one of the brave officers who succeeded with a handful of men in resisting the assaults against the fort of Calicut by the overwhelming forces of the Samori.

Antonio Pessoa was not only highly esteemed by the benevolent D. João de Castro, but even by the severe but just Jorge Cabral (1549-1550), who considered him to be next to the Governor himself, and, as such, was asked, according to Gaspar Correa (*Lendas*, Vol. IV., p. 695), to entertain in his house at Goa the King of Tanor, when the latter was brought there by the Jesuits in 1550, and converted to Christianity, although this conversion proved to be of an ephemeral character. (*See Oriente Conquistado*, C. I. D. 1., p. 527.) Antonio Pessoa also fought bravely at Diu and at Bassein, and besides being a gallant soldier and an able sailor he was also an eminent civilian officer of Government. He first occupied the post of

feitor and alcaide-môr in Ceylon, and then was appointed vedôr da ribeira or marine superintendent at the capital settlement of Goa.

D. João de Castro had granted to Antonio Pessoa five villages and one island in the province of Bassein, as a reward for his distinguished services. But the Vedôr Simão Botelho finding that this grant was made to the prejudice of the Royal Treasury, wrote to the King, D. João III., from Bassein on the 24th of December 1548, thus:—"The Viceroy (D. João de Castro) has granted to Antonio Pessoa five villages and one island, which used to yield to your Highness 2,500 pardaos in gold a year, for a little over 900, because a Moor had it as a pension (*tença*) at that rate in the time of the King of Kambay (Gujarát). Thus the Viceroy has given to Antonio Pessoa and his wife for life the yearly income of 1,600 pardaos in gold." *Cartas*, p. 6.

No names are given in this letter of the five villages and one island. But, in referring to the *Tombo*, we find that in the island of Sálsette the *aldea* or village of Bandora, which in the old *foral*, or register of duties payable to the King, was rented (*arrendada*) for 15,980½ fedeas, was granted at a quit-rent (*aforada*) to Antonio Pessoa by the Viceroy D. João de Castro, in 1548, for 488 pardaos and 2¾ tangas. Along with it the *aldea* of Calera, probably the modern village Khár and Khár Road, near Bandora, and 26½ muras (or mudas) of rice, were also bestowed in the same year on the fortunate Antonio Pessoa. (*Tombo*, pp. 159-160.) The same Viceroy had also granted to Antonio Pessoa and his wife for their lives in the *pragana* Camão, the following four villages:—Coya, Damona, Vallaunda and Dayalla, for 207 pardaos and ½ tanga a year. (*Ibid.*, p. 179.) Thus Bandora, with Calera in the *ilha*, or island, of Sálsette, and the four villages in the *pragana* or district of Camão together make up the five villages referred to by Simão Botelho in his letter to the King. The island's name is not given, but it seems to have been Mazagon; for this conclusion is supported both from the latter having been leased by D. João de Castro, who died on the 6th of June 1548, and from the reference to an island in Simão Botelho's letter, dated the 24th of December 1548, as having been granted by that Viceroy to Antonio Pessoa.

Previous to this period Mazagon was simply rented, or its rent collected annually (*arrecadou o rendimento*) from 1534 to 1547, varying from 8,500 fedeas in 1535, 11,500 in 1536, 15,000 in 1543, to 510 pardaos in 1544, rising at last in 1547 to 550 pardaos, when the *arrendamento*, or renting, ceased. It was then *aforada*, or granted for

a quit-rent of 195 pardaos in gold and three tangas to Antonio Pessoa and his wife. Possibly the designation of *ilha*, or island, by Simão Botelho may refer to the island of Patecas, or Butcher's Island, which, although yielding perhaps hardly any revenue, was then annexed to the village of Mazagon. Another possible explanation is that the position of Mazagon itself would make it in those days an island, just as Colaba or Varlí.

Of all the seven villages which then constituted the original island of Bombay, including Máhim, Mazagon is the only one whose history can be followed in a chronological succession, from 1534 to the present time. Its chief interest lies in the fact of the Royal Charter and Letters Patent relating to this "Manor of Mazagon" having happily been preserved or escaped from the destructive action of time. Under the heading of "Patent of Mazagon," these elaborate and lengthy documents have been published in the *Selections*, etc., Bombay, 1887, p. 359 *et seq.*, drawn from old Portuguese archives. They are unfortunately not well translated, and some quotations from the original documents are really devoid of all sense or meaning. For instance there are the words *encabacimento* and *encabecado* for *encabeçamento* and *encabeçado*, which words have been translated as "investiture in chief" and "vested in chief." The Manor of Mazagon was a *morgado*, or the estate of an inheritance in which the rule of primogeniture had been adopted; hence the *encabeçamento do morgado* meant simply the constitution of several properties into one by entail. There are also the words *fatista* for *fatiota*, *foxeiro* for *foreiro*, *until Senhorio* for *util Senhorio*, *adea* for *aldea*, etc. These errors can readily be detected by one who knows the language; but they are sure to cause considerable confusion to others.

Dr. Fryer then continues his description of the northern part of the island of Bombay, thus:—"At Maijm (Máhim) the Portuguese have another complete church and house; the English a pretty custom-house and guard-house; the Moors also a tomb in great veneration for a Peer (*Pir*) or prophet, instrumental to the quenching of flames approaching their Prophet's tomb at Mekka (though he was here at the same time) by the fervency of his prayers."

"At Salvesong (Nossa Senhora da Salvação or Dadar), the Franciscans enjoy another church and convent; this side is all covered with trees of cocoes, jawks and mangoes; in the middle lies Verulee (Varlí), where the English have a watch. "*Op. cit.*," p. 67."

With respect to these two Máhim churches and those of Mazagon and Parel the writer of the *Monthly Miscellany*, referring to Dr. Fryer, says:—"At Mazagon the Portuguese have another church and religious house belonging to the Franciscans": at present the Cathedral Church of the Goa schismatics and dedicated to Our Lady of Glory. At Parel "they have another church and demesnes belonging to the Jesuits," which subsequent events have made the residence of our Governors. At Mahim "another complete church and house." At Salveçao—*Salvesong* writes Fryer*—"the Franciscans enjoy another church and convent." Sir Miguel de Lima e Souza put these latter in some condition prior to the close of the last century." p. 18.

With the exception of the church of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, on the Esplanade, which has suffered repeated transposition; and the church of Parel, whose patron saint is unknown, and which has been used for more than a century for secular purposes, these three churches are the oldest monuments of the Portuguese rule on the islands of Bombay and Máhim. The church of Mazagon, which is the latest of all, having been raised from a chapel to the category of a church, was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Gloria, whose feast takes place on the second Sunday of November. It is a fine church, being the second Cathedral of the diocese of Damán. It receives annually from the British Government Rs. 1,500 for the lands once belonging to the church now appropriated by that Government, besides Rs. 240 for 12 muras of rice due to the church as an endowment.

The church of Máhim, whose patron saint is St. Michael, his feast being celebrated on the 29th of September every year, is one of the rich churches of the diocese. The altar dedicated to St. Anthony possesses a garden called Kotvady, its revenue being spent in the Saint's devotion. The British Government pays it yearly Rs. 120 for masses in suffrages of the souls of D. Ignez and others. This church has a filial chapel at Sion of the invocation of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho, which is said to have been built in 1596. But this date is merely traditional, and as such it is untrustworthy.

The church of Dadar of the invocation of Nossa Senhora da Salvação, whose annual feast takes place on the first Sunday in May, is the third ancient church, possessing some gardens. It has three filial chapels, one at Matunga, the second at Parel, and the third at Varlí.

All these three churches were built in the 16th century by the

* They are both wrong; it is neither Salvesong nor Salveçao, but Salvação.

Franciscans, although no authentic documentary evidence has yet been obtained of the exact dates of their foundations. They have been often renewed since then, and if they are rich in structure and also in endowments, they are still more so in the memories they enshrine of the struggles of the Portuguese missionaries with their antagonists, the missionaries of the Propaganda Fide, for their possession. The Portuguese ought to value them immensely, if what Thomas Paine says is true:—"What we obtain cheaply we esteem too lightly; it is dearness alone that gives everything its value." No royal patronage of the Indian missions has ever bought any church in India dearer than these. Never had the Portuguese missionaries in their whole career in the East to exchange harder blows, even with the soldiers of the Crescent, than with their rivals, who were also messengers of peace, followers of the Cross, and brothers in Christ. For the churches of Mazagon, Máhim and Dadar were for over a century the scenes of unseemly fights between the Padroado and the Propaganda parties. Mazagon was the bulwark of the partisans of the former, while the two parishes of the sister-island of Máhim were equally divided between the two factions. But this is a subject far beyond the scope of this work. It is, however, full of stirring, romantic, and serio-comic, episodes. If Bombay had nothing exciting in its history beyond this strange duel between the two sections of the same Church, it would still have its place in the *causes célébres* in the domain of Christendom.

But to return once more to the narrative of Dr. Fryer. This traveller now crossed the creek that separates Bombay and Máhim from Sálsette, and went to Bandora. He describes his excursion to Sálsette thus:—"Upon these scores it was not long before I was employed to wait on the Father Superior of the North, a learned man, and a Spaniard by nation, of the order of the Jesuits.

"The President commanded his own baloon (Portuguese *balão*, a kind of an Indian long light ship with oars, said to be derived from the Maráthi *balyám*),—a barge of state of two and twenty oars,—to attend me and one of the Council, to compliment the Father on the island of Canorein (Khaneri), parted from Bombaim by a stream half a mile broad: near our landing-place stood a college, not inferior to the building, nor much unlike those of our Universities, belonging to the Jesuits here, more commonly called Paulistines (they were called *Paulistas* from their college of St. Paul in Goa),—whose visitor was now my patient,—who live here

very sumptuously, the greatest part of the island being theirs. Our entertainment was truly noble and becoming the gravity of the Society. After I had done my duty, the Fathers accompanied us to the barge; afore the college-gate stood a large cross thwack'd full of young blacks singing vespers: the town is large, the houses tiled; it is called Bandora.

"At our department they gave us seven guns which they have planted on the front of their college for their own defence, besides they are fitted with good store of small arms: following therein the advice given by a statesman to the king of Spain, about the Netherlands: that if the Society of the Loyolists were multiplied their convents might serve for castles.

"In the middle of the river we had a pleasant prospect on both sides; on Bandora side the college, the town, the church of St. Andrew a mile beyond, and upon the hill that pointed to the sea the Aquada, (*Agoada*) block-house and a church; on the other side, the church of Maijm (Máhim) with other handsome buildings.

"Curiosity led me a second time to visit the island Canorein (Khaneri,) having obtained leave for a longer stay; nor went I alone, some of the best quality on the island being led by the same desire, joining themselves with me. We carried a train of servants, horses and palankins, which were ferried over before us; and we coming soon after were met by the Fraternity, and conducted to the Fathers, who detained us till afternoon by a stately banquet, showing us the civility of the church and college, diverting us both with instrumental and vocal music, and very good wine.

"After which we were dismissed, and four miles off Bandora were stopped by the kindness of the Padre Superior, whose mandate wherever we came caused them to send his *recarders** (a term of congratulation, as we say 'our service') with the presents of the best fruits and wines, and whatever we wanted.

"Here, not adjoining to any town, in a sweet air, stood a magnificent rural church; in the way to which and indeed all up and down this island are pleasant *aldeas* (villages) or country seats of the gentry, where they live like petty monarchs, all that is born on the ground being theirs, holding them in a perfect state of villainage, they being lords paramount." *Opus cit*, pp. 70-71.

About twenty years later Gemelli Carreri speaks of the pleasure-houses

* The Portuguese word is *recados* which means messages.

of the Portuguese *foreiros* near Bassein in the same way. Of Thána, Dr. Fryer says that the town was built of low tiled houses, good silk and cotton stuffs were made, and there were seven churches and colleges, the chief being that of the Jesuits. (*Ibid.*, p. 73.) Then he says of Bassein that the city was set apart for the better class of Christians, neither artisans nor Baniás being allowed to live within the walls. It had wide straight streets and good buildings round a square or market. The nobles lived in stately mansions, and there were six churches, four convents, and two colleges, one belonging to the Franciscans, the other to the Jesuits. The Jesuit college had fine square cloisters with cells on the sides, a spacious refectory, a goodly church and a fine library of commentaries and works on history and morals.

The Fidalgos of Bassein lived "in stately dwellings, graced with covered balconies, and large windows two stories high, with panes of oyster shells, or laticed." (*Ibid.*, p. 74.) The whole province of Bassein was thus famous for the hospitality of its *foreiros* or landlords, as well as of the monasteries, which made the public places of entertainment absolutely unnecessary. Some of these landlords also called *fazendeiros*, such as João de Mello, and Martim Affonso lived with considerable magnificence in their beautiful *quintas* or granges of graceful architecture, with terraced walks and gardens ending at the water-side in a banqueting-hall, at such places as the picturesque Ghorbandar and elsewhere. They were both patrons of the Church and defenders of the district. Their mansions were often fortified, or they were built close to forts and churches. Not only Dr. Fryer but many other European travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries describe accurately the state of this province as it was then, but I need not quote them here, as I have already referred to them all in my "History and Antiquities of Bassein."

In his comments on Dr. Fryer's account the writer of the *Monthly Miscellany* says:—"This is certainly the most lucid and unpretending version of the strength of the Romish cause in Bombay and its immediate locality—without trusting to the light of furious polemical disputants who in describing Christianity in the East allow their personal disputes to supplant every honest narrative." p. 19.

Some of the convents were also fortified. Besides that of Bandora, which had "seven guns mounted in front of it and a good store of small arms" the convent of the Franciscans at Chaul, and that of Yerangal, ten miles north of Bandora, in Sálsette, standing close to a pretty little bay near the sea, were also fortified.

In 1698, three years after Gemelli Carreri, who had found that in his time all power was in the hands of the ecclesiastics, the Church having a larger revenue in India than the King himself, Bandora was visited by Fr. Du Jarric, who had come from Europe to visit all the houses and colleges of the Society in India. He was received at Bandora with great rejoicing, and entertained with a sham sea fight at the mouth of the river. "The Father left four Punjabi converts to be educated at Bandora whom he had fallen in with at Chaul, and then visited the house at Thána, and all the churches in Sálsette (not named) founding the church of St. Cecilia at Poinçar (probably Poinser)." The Rev. A. K. Nairne, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., P. II., p. 57. But the present church of Poinçar or Poinser is dedicated to Nossa Senhora dos Remedios. Fr. Du Jarric then went to Bassein, where he established a seminary of the invocation of the Purification, where children of noble native parents were brought up as missionaries. He then went direct to Damán, as the spiritual ministration of the intermediate settlements of Tarapur and Máhim-Khelve was then mostly in the hands of the Dominicans.

The large cross, which at the time of Dr. Fryer stood before the gate of the Bandora college of St. Anne, situated at the landing place, has now been removed and re-built in front of the St. Andrew's Church. The site of the college was until lately occupied by the Bombay Municipal slaughter-house. In the original St. Andrew's Church, which is one of the richest churches of the diocese of Damán, especially on account of its four filial chapels, beginning with that of Nossa Senhora do Monte, the door was at the west end and opened to the sea shore.. The entrance of the present church was rebuilt in 1864 facing eastwards.

The church of St. Andrew's was built in the 17th century. The chapel of Mount Mary, and the Agoada, or watering place for the shipping, with a bastion bearing on the top of the gateway a short inscription, whose copy and translation I had laid before the local Royal Asiatic Society on the 8th of June 1880 (see *Journal B. B. Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. lviii), were built in the following century.

Of the numerous churches and convents of Thána there remains now but one in a fair state of preservation—the Church of St. John the Baptist. The ruined churches of N. Senhora da Esperança and of N. Senhora das Mercês are now resorted to only as shrines for annual pilgrimages, where masses are said on those occasions. The

Church of St. John, which has one filial chapel in Kalyán, was built over the ruins of Hindu temples, whose fragments are still visible in the walls of its compound, and some were lately found at the bottom of the large and beautiful tank in front of that church. It reminds one of the Pontifical Fort in the Villa Adriana in Rome, which in 1778 was found to be built, among other materials, of the ancient sculptures of the admirable palace of Emperor Adrian.

From what has been said it is evident that the chief elements in the rise and prosperity of Bombay were the religious and social changes initiated by the Portuguese rule in the island. It is impossible, however, to illustrate the successive phases of the growth of this city without often referring to the vicissitudes of that nation, which had to pay with its final overthrow the penalty for its past errors. As in the Greek drama, Nemesis always treads silently at the heels of every wrong, so also in the history of nations, retribution follows unperceived in their footsteps, as the poet says :—

"The avenging deities are shod with wool."

Bombay is now a mixture of primitive simplicity and modern progress; the village conditions of many centuries earlier blending with the rushing city life of a vigorous community of to-day. But this evolution has had many factors, one of them being essentially Portuguese. The solution of a social problem requires for its consideration among other agencies those of the individualities and their particular surroundings. The Portuguese were by temperament, by education, and by the character of the epoch in which they flourished known by the Indians for their intolerance of opinion, rigidity of habit and tyranny of custom. These are the qualities which stifle the public spirit and fossilize a nation, because there is in such cases less adjustment between individualism and the environment. If an attempt be made to raise the plains and to level the hills by an inrush of floods, only chaos will supervene until the laws of Nature, under differing forces, reassert themselves to a new development.

Having thus far examined rather cursorily the Portuguese religious element in the history of Bombay, let us now study, as briefly as possible, another not less enduring element in the social constitution of this city. It is the juridical constitution of the *fazendeiros*, the landlords of the island; for, like coin, land is a delicate meter of almost all civil, social and moral changes.

The *vedôr* of Bassein, the beforementioned Símão Botelho, in his most valuable *Tombo*, says that from the year 1534, in which that province

was ceded by the King of Gujarát to the King of Portugal, to 1547, the land was let or rented annually for a fixed sum of money. This was the traditional system of collecting the revenue, which was observed during the administration of the Mahomêdan rulers, and was perhaps prevailing even at the time of Bhíma Deva or earlier. This system of land assessment the Portuguese called *arrendamento*, which means "hiring or renting."

But in the year 1548, the great Viceroy, D. João de Castro, finding himself surrounded by a body of distinguished officers, who had signalised themselves in the seige of Diu and elsewhere, and seeing that he had absolutely nothing to give them to reward such worthy men for their eminent services to the Crown, was obliged to parcel out the lands of Bassein among them. An excellent means, doubtless, to remunerate the merit of those brave servants of the State, but very liable to abuses. Simão Botelho protested against it, but in vain.

Thus D. João de Castro was the first to introduce into Bombay the system of *aforamento*, the giving and taking of lands upon certain conditions. It was altogether a novel experience in the administration of land-taxes and agrarian laws. While the great Albuquerque, the conqueror of Goa, formulated or made new conventions, based on the old settlement rules of the land revenue there, Nuno da Cunha, one of the high contracting parties to the treaty of Bassein, simply preserved intact the traditional system in vogue here. In the one case there was the liberty of a conquest, in the other the restrictions of a cession; and yet Albuquerque bound himself to maintain the ancient privileges of those admirable rural republics, the village-communities, which had descended from time immemorial. But he had at the same time at his disposal the lands of the Moors, either absent or defeated, which he was free to bestow, as he eventually did, on many of his countrymen after marrying them to the Persian, Turkish and Circassian women, captured from the households of the Adil Sháh's officers, who had been killed, dispersed or vanquished.

If Nuno da Cunha did not think it necessary to alter the revenue system of *arrendamento*, believing the old form of assessment to be too inveterate to be carelessly interfered with and left it unchanged, D. João de Castro introduced, with the boldness of an innovator, the new system of *aforamento*. He wanted his officers to defend, and at the same time to colonise the territory of Bassein and its dependencies. He was anxious to reward their services, while binding them to

the country, to till, to plant, and to improve it. This system involved naturally both a right and a duty: the right to possess the land and enjoy its produce; the duty to defend it at the tenant's expense, maintaining troops of men and horse, and building moated towers and stockades for its defence. But these conditions fell in course of time unhappily into disuse. In 1728 the Feitôr and Alcaide Mór of Bassein, André Ribeiro Coutinho, wrote to the Viceroy, João de Saldanha Da Gama:—"It is necessary to compel each of the landlords of Bassein and Damán to build a tower, or a stockade in his village, as was the case in the beginning of our rule" (Deve-se ordenar aos foreiros de Baçaim e Damão que cada um faça uma torre, ou casa forte na sua aldea, assim como houve no principio do nosso governo)" *O Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I., p. 52.

But this advice came too late. The *foreiros* wanted the rights without the duties. Like the degenerate Romans, they had lost the virtues of their ancestors, and were, as in the time of Nero, only clamouring for *panem et circenses*, bread and spectacles.

Aforamento is of two kinds, of the *senhorio directo* and *senhorio util*. An explanation of this technical phraseology of the Portuguese legists will be found in the works of Coelho da Rocha and others. But two terms, of Greek origin, of some importance to the history of Bombay, are *emphytiosis*, *emphyteusis* or *fateosim*, the renting of land upon the condition to improve it, and *emphyteuta*, one who rents it upon such a condition, as Garcia da Orta did the island of Bombay, as noted above. Emphyteusis means a grant or a lease either perpetual, or for a long term of years, on condition that the grantee or lessee of the lands should cultivate, plant or otherwise improve them. Such grants were subject to conditions as to liability to quit or ground rent and other charges, and as to alienation, according to the diversity of the grants, and according to the custom or usage of the place where the lands were situated.

The emphyteutic tenure dates from a remote time in Portugal. Both in its origin and development it is peculiar, and its study is of matchless interest. Along with the communal tenure, the land being held allodially or by leasehold, the land in Portugal was also divided into some small estates which were held emphyteutically. It was parcelled out among small yeomen landlords, who in many respects resembled the English copyholders. When the Moors were driven from the peninsula, no claimants forthcoming for the territory reconquered from the Saracen invaders, who had swept into captivity

its former inhabitants, a large share of the unowned land, like the territory of Bassein ceded to the Portuguese Crown, was apportioned among the military leaders and the nobles, a portion falling to the church and convent or the prelates and heads of monastic orders. During the two hundred years which followed the expulsion of the Saracens, the unsteady condition of the land tenure fostered a constant strife between the churchmen and the sovereign, the result being that the convent farmers, originally tenants-at-will or for definite periods, obtained fixity of tenure and of rent. The holding thus granted was termed *aforamento*, or a holding by payment of a *foro* or fixed rent. And this simple word of the fifteenth century received, when letters revived, the classical designation of *emphyteusis*. Thus a copyhold estate was called emphyteusis and a copyholer emphyteuta. But as there can be no perpetual laws where the society is not stationary, a great statutory reform of the emphyteutic system was undertaken in Portugal in 1832. This reform was by its leaders considered to be a bulwark against tyranny, while the descendants of the old companions of D. João I clung with passionate pride to those last remnants of their once mighty feudal power. But, after a series of hostilities and trivial bloodless engagements, the reform was finally defined and settled by the Civil Code promulgated in August 1867.

In Bassein and its dependencies the tenure of land reflected the spirit of the age evolving the feudal character. It was for one or more lives, often renewable, its best example being found in the creation and tenure of the ancient manor of Mazagon. This village had, some time previous to the year 1571, been leased on some terminable interest either for lives or years, to Antonio Pessoa, of whom I have already spoken above, and shall have to speak hereafter, as a reward for his great services to the king.

According to Simão Botelho an emphyteutical grant was to have been restrained by its primitive institution to barren lands, but D. João de Castro applied it to fruitful lands. The primitive institution was to the effect that the King was regarded as the supreme owner of the land, and the Viceroy, in His Majesty's name, was allowed to let out the land to tenants-in-chief, as rewards for their services. According to this system of land administration in Bombay and the surrounding islands, the tenants held the land on conditions of serving the State in war, for which purpose they supported a body of troops, besides paying it certain dues. Some of these tenants let their lands to sub-

tenants, who held them on nearly the same terms. Thus the whole population of the island was, as in feudal Europe, bound together by the sytem of land tenure.

An estate held in *emphyteusis* in perpetuity, as in the case of Garcia da Orta, and of the religious orders or churches, was transmissible to the heirs and assigns of the grantees. The grantees were, as already stated, known as *emphyteutas*, and the grantor as lord or *dominus emphyteusos*. Thus it will be seen that this was originally a Roman law, according to which the *emphyteuta*, although not a *dominus*, had nevertheless *jus in re*, and a true possession within the technical meaning of that term as used by the Roman lawyers. He was entitled to a real action, and at his death his estate or interest was transmitted to his heirs.

Sumner Maine and others trace the fief of the Middle Ages to the emphyteusis of the Romans, such as the fields held by that tenure by the veteran soldiers of the Roman army on the frontiers of the Empire. It led ultimately to feudalism, of which D. João de Castro gave us the first model in the province of Bassein. Thus the ancient constitution of this island was feudal, and the lord could claim the military services of the tenants. Other European nations in India seem, in course of time, to have followed D. João da Castro's example. *F. Warden's Report* says:—"The inhabitants of Madras and of all the other English, Dutch, French, and Danish Colonies in India were (we are informed) bound to furnish military service upon emergencies; hence it appears that the lands all over India were held by a feudal tenure," *Trans. Geo. Soc. Bombay*, Vol. III., pp. 37-38. Elsewhere he writes:—"I consider the imposition of the tax in 1718, to have changed the ancient constitution of the island, and that the military services of the tenants were commuted by a quit-rent." *Ibid.*, p. 24.

The Manor of the village of Mazagon was leased to Antonio Pessoa in 1548 by D. João de Castro, a short while before his death, for the term of the lessee's and his wife's life. Such grants were nominally for one or three lives, but the grantees, if powerful and blessed with intelligent and honest heirs of their own, generally succeeded in getting the grants renewed.

Antonio Pessoa died in 1571, after spending nearly 50 years of his active life in India. The "Village of Mazagon, which is in the island of Máhim, dependency of Baçaim" was then leased to Lionel de Souza, who was married to D. Anna Pessoa, the daughter of Antonio

Pessoa. He was allowed to hold the Mazagon estate at the same annual rent at which Lionel de Souza's father-in-law, Antonio Pessoa, had held it, *viz.*, 195 pardaos in gold and three tangas in silver at the rate of six double pices and one quarter the silver tanga, paying it quarterly in the Bassein Factory.

This grant bestowed by Letters Patent from the King, D. Sebastião, and approved by the Viceroy, D. Affonso de Noronha, is dated from Lisbon, the 26th of February, 1571; bearing the sanction from the Goa Government of the 18th of January, 1572, and registered at Bassein on the 17th of March following.

Lionel de Souza, whom Gaspar Correa calls by his full name of Lionel de Souza de Lima, was in 1536, under the governorship of Nuno da Cunha, captain of the Sea Bastion (baluarte do mar) of the Bassein Fort, commanding a company of 30 musqueteers of his own choice (homens que elle escolheo). He also served at Dia during the troublous reign of Bahádur Sháh. (*Lendas*, Vol. III., pp. 687 and 745.)

The Royal Charter which conferred upon Lionel de Souza the village of Mazagon states that having regard "to the great services that the said Lionel de Souza had done to me in the parts of India, where these many years he serves me, continuing in my service and as Captain of his vessels at his own expense as often as it offers, as well in company of my Viceroys and Governors of India, as in any other things with which he is charged by the said my Viceroys and Governors, by reason of the great experience that he has of the country, and the length of his service therein; and I having all regard both to his age and the obligation I am under to him for his merits .... it seems good to record it is my pleasure in pursuance thereof to confer a favour on the said Lionel de Souza, etc." Thus, through the Viceroy, D. Antonio de Noronha, who governed India from September 1571 to December 1573, the village of Mazagon was granted by the tenure of emphyteusis for ever (em fatiota para sempre), with remainder on his death to his wife, D. Anna Pessoa, as chief tenant. D. Anna had two sons, Ruy de Souza and Manuel de Souza. The widow was to pay a moiety of the rents and profits to her and to her two sons, and to answer for the quit-rent to the royal officers at Bassein. As long as D. Anna Pessoa was alive, the management and the payment of the pension, as well as the distribution of half the rent of the village to her two sons, were to be under her direction. But on her death the village was to remain for ever to the said two sons, being vested in the elder as head or chief tenant.

The Letters Patent permitted Lionel de Souza to reside at Chaul, but directed that he should repair to Bassein when the King's service required his presence there. There was also a "limitation in favour of the sons of the elder son and their issue, with a remainder over, on the exhaustion of his issue, to the other son and his issue, and, on the failure of heirs descendants of those sons, to the heirs and successors as of the survivor, with remainder to such descendants of Lionel de Souza as he should by will nominate." (*See* Bombay High Court Reports, Vol. IV., p. 84.) All this means, in short, that on Ruy de Souza's death, the village of Mazagon was to remain to the youngest son, in case the eldest had no issue, but if there be a son, then he was to have the management. When no "heirs descendants" of those two sons were left, it was to remain to the heirs and successors of such as died last, as the real intention was for this estate to remain to the heirs and successors of the said Lionel de Souza, whilst his generation continued. But if the said two died before D. Anna Pessoa, it was in such a case to be transmitted to the descendants of Lionel de Souza, whom he might nominate by his last will and testament, with all the appurtenances and sacred grounds. (See *Materials*, etc., Part III., p. 436.)

The most important clause in the Royal Charter is the following:—"The which village (Mazagon) it shall not be in his power to sell, exchange, or to alienate without the King's leave, or that of the Viceroy," nor could it be divided, but should "go always in one sole person." It seems, however, from the subsequent events that, although it was not divided at the beginning, and was managed by only one person to the day of its extinction, till some time after the cession of the island to the British Crown, still parts of the Manor were eventually sold, changed or alienated, probably with the consent of the East India Company, which had in the meanwhile replaced the King of Portugal or his Viceroy and Governor-General of India. This consent could perhaps be easily obtained as long as Lionel de Souza's successors would comply with the obligations incurred before the Captain of Bassein first and the Government of Bombay afterwards.

The Letters Patent of 1571, relating to the village of Mazagon and its appurtenances, thereby granted, as a Manor, were registered at Goa and at Bassein in the same year, and were produced to, and recognised by, the officers of the Crown of Portugal in the years 1580, 1583, 1590, and 1632. Lionel de Souza, who at the time of the renewal of Antonio Pessoa's grant by the King D. Sebastião, was a middle aged

man, must have lived long after his eldest son, Ruy de Souza, succeeded him in course of time by the principle of primogeniture. By the Letters Patent, dated the 3rd of June 1637, when Ruy de Souza was yet alive, but too old to manage the estate, the Manor of Mazagon was invested in his son, Bernardino de Tavora, by his wife D. Beatriz de Tavora. He was the only son of Ruy de Souza, who had received the grant on the death of his father, Lionel de Souza, the last registration being dated the 29th of July 1632, when the Letters Patent of the village upon the conditions of emphyteusis (foi aforado em fatiota) and going by chief investiture (encabeçamento) in Ruy de Souza, were registered at Bassein by Pedro Nogueira Coelho. (*Selections*, etc., p. 361.)

Thus in the year 1637, in consequence of Ruy de Souza's advanced age and consequent inability to administer the village, the instrument of assignment and gift was executed, whereby his son Bernardino de Tavora was to hold it in emphyteusis for ever (em fatiota para sempre), subject to the said quit-rent payable to the Crown of Portugal, "which village it shall not be lawful to sell, give, exchange, nor in any other way to alienate, without my leave or that of my Viceroy or Governor of India. Nor yet shall it be in the least divided, but shall go always entire in one only person, who shall for himself cultivate, and take the uses and fruits it may produce, as his own property, in the same manner that Lionel de Souza and Ruy de Souza, his (Bernardino de Tavora's) grand-father and father had and possessed the same." *Selections*, etc.., pp. 362-363.

This new patent of the 3rd of June 1637 is granted by the King Philip III. of Portugal, and IV of Spain, during the Viceroyalty of Pedro da Silva, whose rule began in December 1635 and ended in June 1639, on the eve of the revolution, which resulted in the independence of Portugal. It was duly registered at Goa and Bassein in the same year 1637, 3rd of June and 12th of November respectively. But the circumstance worth noting here is that, after confirming Bernardino de Tavora in the possession of the village of Mazagon, provided he did not deprive the other heirs of the said Ruy de Souza in their right, and provided also, as said above, that he did not sell, give or exchange the said village in any shape or manner whatever without licence, as in the first patent, nor divide it, as it was to go entirely under the management of one person only, the following note is added to the copy of the patent:— "Máneckji Navroji's Hill, the Oart Charney, and Warli are part of this estate." *Materials, etc.* Part III., p. 436.

This short additional note introduces a new element into the history of the Manor of Mazagon. It has already been shown that the four villages of Parel, Vadála, Sion and Varlí, subject to the caçabé of Máhim, were in 1548 granted by D. João de Castro to Manuel Serrão, while the village of Bandora, along with that of Khár, in Sálsette, were leased to Antonio Pessoa. At the time of the cession of the island to the British Crown in the year 1665 the Jesuits of Bandora were the sole possessors not only of Bandora but also of Parel, Vadála and Sion.

The most probable surmise is that, after Manuel Serrão, all these four villages were granted to the Jesuits, and that the latter exchanged Varlí with Antonio Pessoa for Bandora and Khár. When this exchange took place it is difficult to say. According to the *Oriente Conquistado*, Con. I., Div. I., p. 48, the Society of Jesus was introduced into Bassein in 1548. St. Francis Xavier was in that year at Bassein with the priest Belchior Gonçalves and brother Luis Froes, whom he left there, and went then to Cochin. About that time the Vicar-General of India, Miguel Vaz, had obtained from the King, D. João III. 3,000 pardaos of gold for the foundation of a seminary at Bassein, which amount had during the reign of Báhadur Sháh been consigned to the use of mosques (mesquitas dos Mouros) for the purchase of oil for their lighting. Miguel Vaz on his return from Portugal had brought with him some Franciscan monks, and appointed them administrators of the Bassein seminary; although the intention of the King was that the revenues of that seminary should be managed by the Society of Jesus. St. Francis Xavier spoke to these Franciscan monks, especially to Fr. Antonio do Porto, of the province of the Piedade, their superior, and agreed, at the request of the latter, who said that the Franciscans were so few that he desired some members of the Society both to govern the seminary and to administer its revenues, that the work and the subsidy should be equally divided between them. The sum of 3,000 pardaos of gold, of 360 reis each, was thus divided between the two religious orders, and the Jesuits, under the direction of Belchior Gonçalves and Luis Froes, took charge of the Bassein seminary, while the Franciscans founded another at Manapacer (Manandapeśvar).

The church of the Jesuits at Bandora was built in 1570, which building was both a parish church and a residence of the Society (juntamente Parochia e Residencia fixa da Companhia). *Ibid*, C. I., Div. II., p. 10. It was, most probably, about this time that

the exchange between the proprietors of Varlí and Bandora took place.

The two remaining alienated parts of the Mazagon estate—Maneckji Navroji Hill, and the oart (*horta*) Charney require to be discussed apart, as they have an interesting history of their own.

Nowroji Hill, which was lately a hot-bed of the plague, was from the beginning part and parcel of the Mazagon estate. On its alienation, some years after the cession of the island to the British Crown, it was assessed in 1749, along with two other portions, also belonging formerly to the same estate, thus:—Vezry Hill, in possession of Maneckji's family, paid xerafins 32, larim 1; Bardeen Batty grounds, (*vargeas*) belonging to Náoji Ratan, a Parsi, xerafins 30, and res (*reis*) 60: and Puckerewall (Pákhádivada) oarts (*hortas*) and Batty grounds bequeathed the Honourable Company, and the pension of xerafins 163, larim 1, reis 28 being struck off from the total of 1,304-2-29, which sum Alvaro Pires de Tavora, lord of Mazagon, was in the habit of paying from 1674, on the establishment of the total yearly payment of xerafins 20,000, as stipulated in the compact entered into between Gerard Aungier and the Portuguese landlords, who were chosen representatives of the people, in an assembly of the inhabitants interested in the question of land tenures, summoned on the 1st of November 1672. The Nowroji Hill has since been a mine of wealth to its possessor. On the payment of that paltry land-tax he has been literally turning stone into gold. For this stone has been used for years in paving or macadamizing the roads of the growing city of Bombay, yielding it an enormous income.

When the horta Charney became attached to the Mazagon Manor is not known. The only fact recorded about it is that in 1731 the "oart Charney situate in Bombay in the district (Pacaria) Derão" belonged to the Manor of Mazagon, as the patrimonial estate, along with the batty grounds Savanta and Chulgão, situated in the village of Mazagon, parish of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria, whose perpetual and several administrators were the lords of the Manor.

But in 1758 the Charney garden, continuing to belong to the Church of Mazagon, was taxed thus. Oart Charney, situated at Bombay, containing 200 cocoanut trees, bearing fruit, let to the Bhandáris, for Rs. 627, and 91 trees producing about 4,000 cocoanuts at Rs. 30 per 1,000, for Rs. 120, yielding altogether Rs. 747. *Materials, etc.* Part III., pp. 439-440.

In the year 1767 the celebrated Mazagon Manor, which from 1548

to the time of the cession of the island had remained entire and was flourishing, dwindled down to a mere fraction. Deprived of the village of Varlí, which had been sold to Antonio da Silva, and held by him from 1726, yielding 34 *mudás* of rice, and representing a yearly revenue of Rs. 700; deprived of the Vezry Hill in 1749, now in the possession of Maneckji or his descendants; of Bardeen Batty fields, in that of Nánji Ratan or his successor; of the Puckerewall Gardens and rice-fields, bequeathed to the Honourable Company; and the Char garden, once presented to the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria, but now in the possession of the Honourable Company or Government, the Mazagon estate of Antonio Pessoa and Lionel de Souza became reduced to a mere skeleton. Notwithstanding this gradual decline, this fragment was in 1767 divided into six lots, and, being put up on the usual terms of the Honourable Company's farms, was let out as follows: — 1st lot Naugar, including Ghodap Dev, let to F. H. Moody for Rs. 845 a year; 2nd lot Mallavady, including Bhoycalem (Byculla), excepting a mango tree, generally known by the name of the Governor's mango tree, which was to remain as heretofore for his use, the ground let to Andrew Ramsay, and one *muda* of batty ground to be allowed the *mhátára* for his pay, let to D. N. Rustamji and Dhanji Punja for Rs. 410; 3rd lot Cullowdy (Kolivádi) Surji let to Rághuset Goldsmith for Rs. 340 a year; 4th lot Bandarvadia let to M. Limji and B. Rámset for Rs. 500 a year; 5th lot Mazagon Cullowdy (Kolivádi) let to R. Madset for Rs. 640 a year; and 6th lot oart (*horta*) Charney let to Mungaji Visáji for Rs. 715. *Ibid.* p. 445.

But to return to the family of the Tavoras. The successor of Bernardino de Tavora was Christovão de Souza de Tavora, who, as general and perpetual administrator of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria, instituted a certain fund "for the said Church and expenses of the feast therein." This must have taken place about the middle of the 17th century.

After the cession of the island to the British Crown the rent (pension) yielded by Mazagon to the Crown is said to have been considerably higher than that derived from any of the other six divisions in the island, according to the Deputy Governor, Henry Garey's return of the revenue of the island, made in 1667 to Charles II. The rent of Mazagon was then xerafins 9,309, Máhim 4,797, Parel 2,377, Vadála 1,738, Sion 790, Varlí 571, and Bombay 6,334. Warden's *Report*, etc., p. 7. It will be seen from the above list that Bombay

comes next to Mazagon in yielding the largest rent (pension) to Government.

On the 1st of November 1672, an assembly was held in the Bombay Castle by the Governor and President, Gerard Aungier, for a convention or agreement with the inhabitants of Bombay regarding their estates, stipulating that "20,000 xerafins shall begin to be paid on the 9th of February 1673, in three payments every year, and the said Honourable Company shall not demand the payment before that time." One of the *vereadores*, or chief representatives of the people, was Alvaro Pires de Tavora, described as Lord of the Manor of Mazagon. The other members of the assembly were Henry Chound, John Shanton, John Child, George Wilcox, James Adams, Stephen Ustick, all of the Council, Samuel Walker, Secretary to the Council, Antonio Ifretis (?) da Silva, Portuguese Secretary, Luis Cassadive (?) de Lima, assistant to the Attorney-General, Father Reginald Burgos, Procurator for the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Henry Garey, Pedro Luis Timon, Procurator, Martim Affonso de Mello, Francisco Preto, João Pereira and Antonio de Lima. All these persons are said to have been chosen representatives of the *povo* (people) of the isle of Bombay in general. Although the above is the number of the names given in the official documents of the time, it is said that the convention was signed by "one hundred and twenty of the eminents of the *povo* on behalf of the whole *povo* of the isle." *Selections*. Vol. I., p. xvi.

Next to Alvaro Pires de Tavora in 1672, we find that in 1727, when special enquiries were made in connection with a scheme for the purchase of Bombay by the Portuguese Government, as we shall see further on, the *aldea* or village of Mazagon was held by D. Senhorinha de Souza e Tavora, then living at Bassein as *foreira* or tenant. Thus, although, according to Bruce's *Annals*, p. 104, the Manor appears to have been confiscated during the early troubles, of which I shall speak more at length hereafter, it was subsequently restored to Alvaro Pires de Tavora and his heirs.

This sequestration must have taken place during that troublous period, when all the property of the Jesuits on which the Government could lay its hands was confiscated. Their lands at Parel, Vadála and Sion were never restored, but property belonging to Portuguese families, who were accused of refusing military aid, forfeiting thereby the rights to their lands, was given back to its former owners, when after enquiry they were proved to have acted in good faith. But the

English Government was also accused of having been hasty in its confiscations, these proceedings having been sanctioned by the Court of Directors, because, as was candidly acknowledged, they had become necessary in order to improve, by every possible means, the revenues of the Island. (*Anderson's English in Western India*, p. 134).

The year 1731 was a fatal year for the fortunesof the Manor of Mazagon. There is preserved in the Bombay Government Secretariat a Warrant of Attorney, executed at Bassein on the 17th of May 1731, by Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, on behalf of himself and his son, João Vicente, and also by his wife, D. Mariana de Noronha, to Wissia Senoy Tullung (Visvanáth Shenvi Telang), a Bráhman inhabitant of the town of Bassein, to sell the village of Mazagon and its appurtenances for Rs. 21,500, and to execute the necessary conveyances.

There is also a copy of a deed of sale, bearing date the 3rd of August, 1731, by which W. S. Tullung, with the consent of the Governor of Bombay, sold[a] and conveyed the village of Mazagon for Rs. 21,500, to Antonio da Silva, inhabitant of Bombay, most probably the same person who had bought from D. Senhorinha de Souza e Tavora the *aldea* or village Varli, and was employed as a clerk in the Bombay Fort in the service of the Honourable Company, and to Antonio de Lemos, inhabitant of Mazagon. The village was sold with all its appendages and appurtenances and services, new and ancient, with the two houses of Lordship, one ruined and the other standing, and the administration perpetual and general of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria, situated in the same village, and of the patrimonial state thereof, to the end that they, by themselves and by their heirs and successors, attorneys and executors, may possess, enjoy, and dispute the same village, on condition of their paying the annual pension of the said church, and performing the feast and paying the expenses made therein, according to the form observed and declared in the testament of Senhor Christovão de Souza de Tavora, a former quit-rent tenant of the said village, and administrator of the said church, as likewise all other pensions and charges whatsoever of the said village, whether they be private or of the Illustrious Company (East India Company).

The title of Martinho da Silveira de Menezes was stated in the deed to be "by the nomination made thereof (the said village) to him by

[a] The Portuguese words are *pura venda de hoje para todo sempre*, which in the *Selections* are turned into "para venda dehoge para toda sempre."

the lady Donna Senhorina de Souza (Dona Senhorinha), his grandmother, deceased, by reason of its appertaining to him as the eldest and most immediate descendant of Senhor Lionel, who was the first quit-rent tenant (*Foreiro*), and possessor of the said village by the gratuitous grant made by his Most Serene Majesty of Portugal, and afterwards continued by the Most Serene Majesty of Great Britain of the estate of the Most Illustrious Company, etc." (*Selections*, Vol. II., pp. 363-365. Also *Bombay High Court Reports*, Vol. IV., pp. 87-88.) They had already forgotten by this time the founder of the Manor, Antonio Pessoa. And now there is hardly a person in Bombay who remembers or has ever heard the name of Martinho Silveira de Menezes, of his wife Dona Mariana de Noronha, or of his son João Vicente.

João Vicente Ferreira da Silveira de Menezes, whose title of Moço Fidalgo is dated the 10th of April, 1739, was born at Damán. He was the son of Martinho da Silveira de Menezes, Moço Fidalgo himself, son of Antonio da Silveira de Menezes, grandson of Joanne Mendes de Menezes, and great grandson of Tristão da Silveira de Menezes. Antonio da Silveira de Menezes, father of Martinho, was made Moço Fidalgo on the 30th of March 1675. He was Captain of Bassein by the royal order (*portaria*), dated the 22nd of March 1678. He had two brothers, Fernão da Silveira de Menezes, whose son was Joanne Mendes de Menezes, and José Luiz da Silveira de Tavora, appointed Moço Fidalgo on the 18th of March 1692. The date of Fernão's Letters Patent is the 30th of March 1675, and that of his son's is the 6th of March 1701. Martinho had a younger brother, Francisco de Tavora de Menezes, whose Charter bears the same date, the 6th of March 1701. *Nobiliarchia Goana* 1862, pp. 9 *et seq.*

The Tavoras were an ancient Portuguese family, whose connection with India dates from almost the beginning of the 16th century. Ruy Lourenço de Tavora came out to India in 1538, and was appointed Captain of Bassein in 1539, in succession to Garcia de Sá, its first Captain. He was the third son of Alvaro Pires Tavora, Lord of Mogadouro. He returned to Portugal in 1540, and was by the King J. Sebastiaõs nominated Viceroy of India in 1576. He left Lisbon with a fleet of four sail on the 7th of March of that year, but a severe epidemic raged on board his vessels, killing 1,500 of his men, and he himself died of it at Mozambique, where he was buried in the chapel of N. S. do Baluarte. His son was Lourenço Pires de Tavora, who does not seem to have come out to India. But his grandson, Ruy

Lourenço de Tavora, also had already been here, when he came in the fleet of his grandfather in 1576, but he returned to Portugal in 1577, and was sent as Viceroy in 1609. He remained in India until the 26th of December 1613, when he left for Lisbon. He died in June 1616.

The elaborate High Court Report I have quoted above, referring to the Manor of Mazagon, has the following note by the late Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir Michael Westropp:—"*Foras* is derived from the Portuguese word "*fora*" (Latin *foras*, from *foris* a door), signifying *outside*. It here indicates the rent or revenue derived from outlying lands. The whole island of Bombay fell under that denomination when under Portuguese rule, being then a mere outlying dependency of Bassein. Subsequently the term *foras* was, for the most part, though perhaps not quite exclusively, limited to the new salt batty ground reclaimed from the sea, or other waste ground lying outside the Fort, Native Town, and the more ancient settled and cultivated grounds in the island, or to the quit-rent arising from that new salt batty ground and outlying ground. The quit-rent in Governor Aungier's convention, called *foras*, also bore the still older name of *pensio* (*pensão* pension), and since that convention has been chiefly known by the name of *pension*. It was payable in respect of the ancient settled and cultivated ground only." *Opus, cit.* p. 40.

But this interpretation, although put forward by the legal acumen of one who was a great ornament to the Bombay Bench, is not correct. I need therefore to apologise for entering here into a short caveat, somewhat classical in form, but free, I hope, of all pedantry, in order to elucidate the contested point.

Fôro has no connection whatever with *fóra*, nor can the latter be derived from the Latin *foris* 'a door.' There are two *foris* in Latin, one a substantive and the other adverb. The first *foris* means 'a door,' and the second *foris*, with a *grave* accent on i, means outside. It is from the latter that the Portuguese *fóra* is derived, which means 'without,' 'abroad' or 'out of doors.'

The example of *foris* 'a door' is found in Ovid, 3 *Amor*, where the poet says:—

Clausam, servus ut, ante *forem*.

The use of *foris*, meaning 'outside,' is met in Juvenal, I., b. 7, thus:—

Te plorante *foris*, testis mihi lectulus, et tu.

Fôro means a quit-rent payable by tenants to the King or the Lord of the Manor, as said before. It also means 'court or hall of

justice.' If *fôro* is to be traced to a Latin origin, it is more appropriate to derive it from *forum*, a public place, where public affairs, like the payment of rents or tributes, were transacted. A Latin word more appropriate to *fôro* is *census*, meaning valuation of estates or rating of property, and not registry or roll of the citizens, just as *foral* corresponds to *liber censuum* or 'book of rates to be paid.' It is in this sense that the Portuguese term *pensão*, derived directly from the Latin *pensio* 'payment', is taken. Cicero's *solvere pensionem* would therefore correspond in Portuguese to *pagar o fôro* or to pay the quit-rent.

From the assumption that *fôro* was derived from *fóra*, and the latter from the Latin *foris* 'a door,' the eminent Bombay Judge concluded that this derivation plainly indicated that the rent or revenue was drawn from the outlying lands alone, and that the whole island of Bombay fell under that denomination when under the Portuguese rule, Bombay being then a mere outlying dependency of Bassein. And in order to justify this far-fetched derivation of the word *fôro* from *fóra*, he confined the quit-rent to the outlying ground, and to the island of Bombay, as a mere outlying dependency of Bassein. But the fact generally known that *fôro* was imposed both on the inlying as well as on the outlying ground, and that it was not limited to Bombay, but was indifferently applied to Bassein, to Sálsette and to all other parts of that province, ought to have convinced him of the feebleness of his hypothesis. The question of *aforamento* or land tenure and its various kinds, with the complete legislation on the subject, will be found in the *Gabinete Litterario*, Vol. IV., pp. 77, *et seq.*, and on *arrendamento* or renting and leasing of grounds and its varieties at pp. 189, *et seq.*

Another Portuguese word in connection with this subject is *fazendeiro*, which has been corrupted into *fazendar* and *fazendari*. It is derived from *fazenda*, which means an estate, and *fazendeiro* 'an estate holder,' a landlord or proprietor.

In the same "Report of Cases decided in the Original Civil Jurisdiction of the High Court of Bombay" there is the following strange description of the word *vereador*, so often used in the early settlements of disputes between the inhabitants of Bombay and the British Government. "Vereador," the Report says, "is one who holds the staff or wand of power; is a member of Council or of the Chamber; a functionary charged with the administration of the police, or the repairs of public roads; a bazaar superintendent; a magistrate, or a public functionary who fixes local tariffs or taxes." p. 90.

Now *vereador* has nothing to do with the holding of the staff or wand of power. This fanciful derivation is evidently drawn from the Portuguese word *vara*, Latin *virga*, which means a 'rod.' But *vereador* has not the remotest connection with it. *Vereador* simply corresponds to the word *procurator*, or attorney, and was in olden times equivalent to *consul* and *decurio*. He never held the staff of power in his hand, but wore a *toga* or gown, as vereador da Camara or member of the Municipal Corporation. What is now called Camara Municipal was formerly named Senado da Camara.

It may now be necessary to advert as briefly as possible to the currency of the Portuguese Government in this province. A short descriptive account of some of the principal coins current here, both during the Mahomedan and the Portuguese periods, as well as during the British *régime*, being the most authentic historical documents of the times, will be given hereafter in a supplement to this work. In the meantime, I shall confine myself to the description of what the Portuguese chroniclers mention often as *damri*, a nominal coin, which they write *demediam* and *dombd'y*. Now this word, as money of account, can be traced to *dam*, the lineal descendant of the *dramma* of the Kshatrapas and Siláháras, as I have related above.

The word *dam*, having lost in process of time the concrete sense of a coin, came to mean simply cash, money in the abstract, or wealth in general, and also price. Such is now the meaning of the Maráthi दाम (*dám*), which in combination with उदर (*udar*) "belly," *i.e.*, Dámodar, forms one of the epithets of Krishna, that is, born rich or opulent.

The Gujarátis have the following proverb:—*dámkaré dám, bibikaré sálam*, which means "money answereth all things; if you have money a woman will love or welcome you," which gives a faithful estimate of their character as a money-loving race, and of economic corruption, whereof numerous industrial parasites furnish the most flagrant examples. But my chief object here is simply to trace the word *dam* or dramma, through its various vicissitudes, to the original Greek drachma, which seems to have had such an influence on the life, language and habits of the people of Western India, for such a lengthy course of centuries.

Of the British period I need not say much, beyond making a few remarks on some of the most salient points. Other and abler hands have already undertaken this most important task. The literature of Bombay, whether in statistics, stories, or anecdotes, is already con-

siderable in magnitude. The earliest and best compiled of these works is the "English in Western India," Bombay, 1854, by Philip Anderson, "One of the Honourable Company's Chaplains in the diocese of Bombay, and a Vice-President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society."

Philip Anderson came out to this country in 1842, and died in 1857, being laid to rest on the shores of Colaba. He was scholar and gentleman, his attainments being great, especially in throwing light upon the beginning of a rule, "which from the meanest origin, and after numerous death struggles to preserve its very existence, at length became so potent that, like an Aaron's rod, it has swallowed every other power with which it has come in contact." (*The Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. I., p. 150 ; Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., pp. 391, *et seq.*)

It is a pity, however, that so excellent a book should contain some inaccuracies. One of the most glaring is the following, relating to the travels of F. Pyrard de Laval. Anderson quotes him thus :— "The crew, twenty-four in number, having contrived to reach the shore near Surat with their money and other property, were well treated by the native authorities." p. 5. What Pyrard wrote is this:— '*mais ils eurent temps de tirer leurs deux bateaux, et de s'embarquer dedans environ quatre-vingts qu'ils estoient*, etc." Anderson has written 'twenty-four' for *quatre-vingts*, instead of eighty, thus disturbing the order and sense of history, which no author has the right to do, besides detracting somewhat from his reputation as a scholar. Elsewhere he identifies the mediæval port of Tanor at Malabar with Thána, p. 64, and so on. But it is so easy to find fault.

To return, however, to the social history of Bombay. It is to Portugal that England is indebted for the facilities she found here, on her taking possession of Bombay, introducing Western methods of life and modes of thought, or for planting the famous "Aaron's rod," which has now swallowed nearly the whole of India.

One of the dominant factors in the rise and development of Bombay, in the early days of the British rule, was the bureaucratic element, which England found here prepared by the Portuguese missionaries. The latter had, indeed, succeeded in effecting, at least partially, the much-talked-of modern readjustment of the emotional with the intellectual, in the evolution of the race, by bringing the Indians into close contact with Occidental ideas and habits. Thousands of Indian families had been converted by the Portuguese to Christianity, and hundreds of them continue still to speak the language, which their

ancestors had adopted as their own, throughout the province of Bassein, more than three hundred years ago ; although it is now spoken in a form that is not only obsolete, but corrupt, and on the point of being rapidly substituted by the English tongue.

It was from these families that the early British Government drew their supplies of clerks, assistants or secretaries. They were the first fruits of the instruction and education imparted to them by the Portuguese priests, at a time, moreover, when there was hardly a Hindu, Moslem or Parsi able to read the Roman characters. And they were the early instruments for spreading the influence of the new rule among the natives of Western India, or the first helpers in the expansion of the British power throughout the country.

It would, indeed, be ingratitude, which is said to be treason to mankind, for a young and prosperous nation to forget that the old Portugal was "the guide of Europe and Christendom into that larger world which marks the real difference between the middle ages and our own day." (Beazley, p. 125.) And Great Britain appears often to have acknowledged that that little kingdom was the founder of the commercial civilisation and of the European empire in Asia. Although the Portuguese have fallen from the pedestal upon which they were standing during the 15th and 16th centuries, still they cherish the ambition of reviving the glories of the past, and of uniting men of all shades of opinion in a common patriotism, by such celebrations as those of the 3rd centenary of Camoens in 1880, the 5th of Prince Henry, the Navigator, in 1894, and the 4th of Vasco da Gama, in 1898.

Portugal, on the other hand, while forgetting the petty jealousies she may have experienced from time to time from her most ancient and faithful ally (*a sua mais antiga e fiel alliada*), has always clung with enthusiastic esteem and affectionate regard to England, with such feelings as are expressed in the following lines by one of the most eminent Portuguese poets of the present century, Viscount of Almeida Garrett, who spent some years of his eventful life in that country :—

"Ahi d'entre as vagas
Surge a princeza altiva das armadas
Patria da lei, senhora da justiça
Sonho da foragida liberdade.
Salve ! Britannia ! Salve, Flôr dos mares
Minha terra hospedeira, eu te saudo !"

Thus ends the Portuguese period of Bombay. It is full of stirring

incidents, dramatic episodes, and romantic deeds of ruthless realism amidst the kaleidoscopic changes of situation. Above all these overcrowding events, however, there stand aloof from the vulgar gaze three grand ideals, dominating the whole Portuguese epopee, represented by three names, consecrated by the national conscience, and by the genius of History. These names are Vasco da Gama, Affonso de Albuquerque, and St. Francis Xavier. The first represents the spirit of geographical exploration; the second that of conquest, and of the European colonisation of India; and the third that of the propagation of Christianity throughout the East.

Since Alexander's invasion, and the memorable reign of Eukratides, who extended the Bactrian sway from the remote regions of Northern Tansoxiana to the coast of Kambay, this was the first attempt ever made to realize on Indian soil the scheme of empire and religion, when 'Those Kings sallied forth to propagate the Faith, the Empire'—

"Daquelles Reis, que foram dilatando
A Fé, o imperio." *Lusiadas*, C. I. e. 2.

The association between geographical research and spiritual zeal is said to have almost always been close; and it was preeminently so among the Portuguese, who in their wars against the Saracens had already been trained for colonial expansion.

But short as it was,—the irony of fate, so often remarked in achievements of this kind, would not suffer it to be otherwise,—this singular era of expansion stamped the peculiar impress of its character not only upon that epoch, but also upon the succeeding ages. And it will have it handed down to our posterity, until the day when this modern Jerusalem shall have, perhaps, brought forth a Jeremiah of its own to bewail the solitariness of "the city once full of people and great among the nations, now become as a widow."

Bombay, under the Portuguese, was like a canvas of variegated tints, the sombre hues of the chiaroscuro recalling the familiar saying of Boiste—"*Les tableaux de l'histoire inspirent la résignation: quand les hommes furent-ils moins malheureux?*" Resignation is, indeed, a supreme virtue, and a sovereign remedy for the evils of that cosmic process of discipline or stage of trial, called life. But there is historic fatalism, as Goethe said, attached to all foreign rule, against which even resignation is powerless. And the Portuguese rule, even if endowed with the best organisation and with historical continuity, could not have evaded its liability to the operations of that inexorable law.

This brief rule, however, amidst all their efforts to find a solution

for the new problems of Indian existence now assailing it on every side, had its own benefit, albeit apparently ephemeral in its issues; because its ideals varied often, and caprice interfered with the realisation of a steady policy. What was at one time considered to be successful became sadly disastrous at another, as a consequence of that mental and moral anarchy, which Auguste Comte regards as the appanage of the stage of civilisation, springing up on the decline of the mediæval phase of human progress. It was a period of restlessness, of revival, and of regeneration, one of the results of that restlessness being the disorder in the financial management of the Portuguese colonial empire, leading up to bankruptcy. For it is an old axiom, that without good finance it is impossible to get good policy.

The Portuguese financial situation, unlike that of another colonial power which Maltebrun considered to be involved in "incalculable mysteries," was, from the first, too plainly in a chaotic state, owing to the State monopolies, and the plundering speculations of some of its Governors and Captains.

A striking instance of this mental anarchy and chaotic state of administration may be found in the manner in which the very seat of Government was frequently removed from one place to another, resulting at the end in the ruin of all. Finding that the old city of Goa was declining rapidly from the ravages of a pestilence, as well as from the irruption of the Maráthas, the Portuguese sought to build hastily, about the middle of the 17th century, another city at Mormugão. No sooner were the foundations laid and some walls erected, about 600,000 xerafins being lavishly spent on them,—a large sum in those days,—than it was given up, and an attempt made to rebuild the old city of Goa at the cost of 800,000 xerafins more, mostly borrowed from the village communities. This system of reconstruction was never carried out, the result being that both the sums were lost, and the loans never repaid. Partly through ignorance and neglect, and partly through malice and vandalism, the two cities are now a heap of ruins. In the meantime, the seat of the viceroyalty had been changing by degrees. First, the Count of Villa Verde, about the end of the 17th century, shifted his residence from Goa to Panelim. His successor, the Count of the Ega, finding that place to be unhealthy, moved on about the middle of the last century to Pangim. Now the habitual residence of the Governor is at the Cabo, which juts out into the sea. It seems that the time is fast coming for the glorious *quinas* to sail back to the banks of the Tagus.

Thus the vessel of the State finally stranded, the only salvage from this mournful wreck being the renown and glory of a few high-minded personages, whose official duties had brought them into close contact with the lovely region of Bombay. To recount all their good deeds, however, performed in this country, not quitting this stage until their tasks, large in outline and minute in detail, were fully accomplished, would transcend the limits of this work.

Bombay owes its fame, before its cession to the British Crown, to the beneficent action of these men. It derived its lustre and prosperity from the practical embodiment of the great Affonso de Albuquerque's maxim, which, like the Napoleonic *La carrière ouverte aux talents*, was expressed in a formula of his own: "The best place for the best man," in the bureaucratic reform, which was inaugurated during the early part of the Portuguese *régime* by Simão Botelho and others in the Province of Bassein, with the loyal support of almost all of his contemporaries.

Not only Simão Botelho, but also Garcia da Orta, Heitor da Silveira, "the Portuguese Hector," as Camoens calls him (Canto I., c. 60), noble soul, soldier, and poet like himself, and many others displayed in their work the salutary influence of the epoch, which appears to have contrived to combine the moment and the medium, in order to engender those great minds, who were in reality the genuine products of their age. Their greatness was grounded on the Horatian doctrine of heredity—*Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis*. For they were trained in the traditions by which national greatness is generally founded and developed. And if they had enemies—the supremacy of genius and virtue has ever been an unpardonable crime in the eyes of mediocrity—they did not mind them; nor did they much care for the applause of the world. We do not know the initial stage of many of these heroes. As with great rivers, so often with great men; the middle and close of their course are dignified and distinguished, but the primary source and early progress of the stream are difficult to ascertain and to trace.

Then there were others, whose births were conspicuous, as striking were the last scenes of their lives. They met death with joyful serenity; because to them death was but a pause between two phases of existence. And they were the real aristocrats, such as those who always guide the destinies of a nation, and the civilisation of the world. "*La civilisation*," truly remarks Renan, in a letter to his friend Berthelot, "*a été de tout temps une œuvre aristocratique*,

maintenue par un petit nombre; l' âme d'une nation est chose aristocratique aussi: cette âme doit être guidée par un certain nombre de pasteurs officiels, formant la continuité de la nation."

D. João de Castro was one of these aristocratic souls. He more than any other contributed to the advancement and progress of civilisation in the Bombay group of islands, whose colonization by Europeans he assiduously strove to promote, although his scheme was a chimera, a physiological blunder perhaps, whose grievous effects he did not live long enough to witness. Zealous in the propagation of the Gospel, he was the first to perceive the need of good behaviour amongst his own countrymen. In a letter addressed to the King, D. João III., on the 16th of December 1546, he wrote thus:—"*me affirmo que são mais almas perdidas dos Portuguezes que veem á India, do que se salvam dos Gentios que os Pregadores Religiosos convertem a nossa Santa Fé*" *Arch. Pit.* July 1858, p. 17. "I assert that more souls of the Portuguese who come to India are lost, than those saved of the Gentiles whom the Religious Preachers convert to our Holy Faith."

On his deathbed, D. João de Castro received royal despatches conferring upon him the title of Viceroy, and re-appointment for another term of three years. Hearing the people's remarks and shouts of applause from his chamber, he turned to his confessor, Fr. Francis Xavier and said:—"How deceitful is this world which offereth three years of honour to one who hath but a few moments of life."

It is such men, after all, who build up the history of nations. Conduct alone which, as Matthew Arnold says, is the fount of life, ends charm and fascination to the annals of mankind. All the other levents, as Taine remarks, may be summed up in three pages, and these again reduced to three lines.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell any further on the Portuguese period of Bombay, beyond remarking that it contains splendid lessons of success and of failure, of achievement and of disappointment. It furnishes examples of patient endurance wresting victory from apparent defeat, and of recklessness changing into defeat apparent victory.

It is often said by unfriendly critics, that the influence of a small country like Portugal could not pretend to have a lasting effect in India. But size is an insignificant element in rating a country's position, as witness Sparta, Carthage, and Genoa; from little Phœnicia came forth most skilful mariners; from Athens, Rome, Florence and Venice, all of them small in their origin, were derived the highest

culture and the noblest accomplishments. Portugal, although small in size, and possessing very slender means, still sent forth sailors and missionaries, replete with ideality and enthusiasm, who revolutionized the course of history. The celebrated Spanish historian, Marianna, had therefore every reason to say:—*Regnum Lusitaniæ magnitudine rerum gestarum cum primis nobile.* Their decline coincides, as in the case of all ancient nations, with the deterioration of character and of conduct. Aristotle truly remarks in his *Ethics*:—"It is not wealth but character that lasts." Without it all abilities are useless. The statue, however deftly carved, will not be a success if the marble have serious defects.

If space allowed it, a brief and fascinating sketch might be drawn here of this process of national deterioration, through the varying phases of apparent expansion and eventual shrinkage. Prior to the annexation of Portugal by Spain, its citizens had begun to evolve the instinct of imperialism. There were in those days Portuguese jingoes, who declared that the sun never set over their empire, extending from Brazil in America, through Africa, India and the Moluccas, to Macao in China. But this phase of Greater Portugal did not last long. It was followed by the spirit of individualism, which soon crushed out all patriotism. The latter, as a rule, shows itself only in small communities, similar to those of ancient Sparta or Rome in early days, when they had to contend continuously with their rivals in the neighbourhood. But when the heterogeneous aggregates constituting the Lusitanian empire began to reveal the signs of repulsion, like another India or China, the Portuguese citizen began to think only of his private interests and of his family, to the exclusion of any sense of national or patriotic obligations, until the kingdom of Portugal became, in the words of Napier, "virtually an unguarded province of England."

The whole course of the history of the Portuguese period of Bombay confirms the Aristotelian maxim. The merchant princes of the time, such as Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, nicknamed the Count of Galalão, the millionaire banker Coje Xamaçudim (Khewajeh Shams-ud-din) and many others, who are now entirely divested of the false glare which wealth once imparted or popular imagination threw around them, possess no attraction for history; for it is history alone that has the power to save men's memories from oblivion. But the names of the honest and loyal Nuno da Cunha, of D. João de Castro, irritable in temper but good of heart, of Garcia da Orta, the learned and wise

physician, and of many such picturesque and attractive personalities, who had for trade and its pliant morality the poet's sneer—

"Honour sinks where commerce long prevails,"

and who looked, as Plato taught, at all earthly things as if they were viewing them from above, are, on the contrary, crowned with a halo of perennial majesty and imperishable fame.

Far from discouraging the legitimate operations of finance, trade, or industry, they rather animated them all, especially agriculture, which they considered to be the corner-stone of the whole social fabric. What they detested was the organised hypocrisy, the systematic overreaching, and that commercial sordidness which was practised with impunity by both Europeans and Indians, at the very dawn of Indo-European mercantile relations between the East and West, by the newly discovered maritime route round the Cape of Good Hope.

And besides these eminent laymen, there were others, to whom there was no perfection without sacrifice; for they knew that the way to perfection lies through that of suffering. They acted, as if one were better in taking the strait and difficult path than in following the easy and wide road. Their aspirations towards perfection were boundless, because they believed with St. Bernard:—*Nemo perfectus est qui perfectior esse non appetet.* They never ceased to tell their contemporaries that "a prosperous iniquity is the most unprofitable condition in the world," and that the cradle and the grave are not the only boundaries of man's existence. They owned all sympathies and outraged none. To them to live was as if to love and live were one. With them goodness was civilisation, and humility heroism. Their names were—St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Antonio do Porto, Fr. Diogo Bermudes, Gaspar Barzeo, Belchior Nunes, Gonçalo Rodrigues, and a host of others, who gave the best of their lives to the Christian missions in and about Bombay. These men were trained in the school of self-sacrifice; like Leopardi, they derived sweetness from suffering, from even a shipwreck in a good cause:—

'E naufragar m' è dolce in questo mare.'

They have now been dead for years; but the influence of their example is not less potent because indefinable; the subtle spirit of their work, not less efficacious because less patent, inspires still many of us, of the present generation, although one does not feel it, as one does not feel the air one breathes. Several of the institutions still standing in and around Bombay, raised from the year 1534 to the present, are their own creation. It is said that few institutions live long after

the hands that raised them have disappeared; but when institutions arise from pure intentions and good manners, and these have their foundation on belief, such as was fostered with so much care and enthusiasm by the early Portuguese missionaries in Bombay and the surrounding islands, there is every reason to hope for their permanence and perpetuity.

But it is time to close the Portuguese period of Bombay; it has long faded away. Let us now hasten to treat of the British period, which has reached its full stage of efflorescence, "palpitating," as the French say, "with the interest of actuality."

CHAPTER V.

The Early British Period.

The British period commences with the treaty of marriage, dated the 23rd of June 1661, between the King of Great Britain, Charles II., and the Infanta of Portugal, D. Catharina, ratified on the 28th of August 1661 by D. Luisa, Queen Regent, on behalf of her son, the King of Portugal, D. Affonso VI. This treaty consists of twenty articles, besides the secret article, all of which have already been published both in Portuguese and in English.

The marriage took place on the 31st of May 1662.* It was, doubtless, a matrimonial contract, but mainly a diplomatic measure tending towards cementing the old alliance between England and Portugal, which had once existed under the Kings of the house of Aviz. By the treaty of Windsor of the year 1386, England and Portugal were declared to be "united henceforth in the closest bond of friendship and alliance." King João I of Portugal, whom King Henry IV of England had created a Knight of the Garter, the first instance of a sovereign receiving that order, "Saint George" becoming the battle-cry of both the kingdoms, married Philippa, the daughter of John of Gaunt and grand-daughter of Edward III. This marriage was blessed with five illustrious sons, who greatly contributed

* This marriage was commemorated in verse by a Cambridge poet in Latin, Greek and Italian. The Latin epigraph ran thus:—*Epithalamia Cantabrigiensia in nuptias auspicatissimas Serenissimi Regis Caroli II, Britanniarum Monarchæ et illustrissimæ Principis Catharinæ Potentissimæ Regis Lusitaniæ sororis unicæ*, 1662.

In Agnes Strickland's Lives of the *Queens of England*, Lond. 1857, vol. V, pp. 478—703 is the biography of the Princess Catharina with her portrait.

to the expansion of the Portuguese power beyond the seas. This new alliance, however, according to the indignant language of some of the Continental contemporary sovereigns, statesmen and national historians, was stigmatised as almost forcing Portugal to become a province of England.

The widow of D. João IV., D. Luisa de Guzman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was Regent during the minority of her son. A woman of great ability, she retired at the end of her regency to a cloister, and died there in 1666. D. Affonso was declared to be of age on the 21st of June 1662.

The principal and most recent Portuguese works relating to this treaty and subsequent affairs in connection with it between the Portuguese and British in India are the following:—

Supplemento á Collecção dos Tratados, Convenções, etc., by Julio Firmino Judice Biker, Vol. IX., pp. 179-269; also Vol. X., pp. 290, *et seq.*

Additamento á Memoria sobre as Possessoēs Portuguezas na Asia, etc., de G. de M. Teixeira Pinto, by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, pp. 174, *et seq.*

Archivo da Relação de Goa, by J. I. Abranches Garcia, Part II., pp. 530-536.

The chief English works on the same subject are "Selections from the Letters, etc.," edited by George W. Forrest, Vol. II., pp. 367, *et seq.*

"Materials towards a Statistical Account, etc.," edited by J. M. Campbell, Part I., pp. 1, *et seq.*

Some references to the treaty are found in Warden's, "*Report, etc.,*" in the Transactions of the *Geographical Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., pp. 65, *et seq.* And a few extracts from the same are given in "Memoir on the Savant Waree State," by W. Courtney and J. W. Auld, pp. 347, *et seq.*

"Report on the Portuguese Records," to the Secretary of State for India in Council, etc., by F. C. Danvers, pp. 64, *et seq.*, and "The Portuguese in India," by the same writer, Vol. II., pp. 331, *et seq.*

Although all the clauses of the treaty were maturely weighed and carefully discussed by men of the intellect and wisdom of the Earl of Clarendon, Earl of Southampton, Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Manchester and others on the one side, and D. Francisco de Mello, Conde da Ponte, Ambassador Extraordinary for the King

of Portugal on the other, this treaty soon became a bone of contention between the Portuguese and the English nations.

By the treaty the Crown of Portugal ceded and granted to the Crown of England the island and harbour of Bombay in full sovereignty. And by the secret article of the treaty the King of Great Britain bound himself to exert his whole strength and power in order to establish a solid and lasting peace between the Most Serene King of Portugal and the States General of the United Netherlands, and if the States General refused to make peace, Charles II. bound himself "to defend and protect the possessions of the Portuguese in the East Indies," and to obtain restitution to the Crown of Portugal of such Portuguese Settlements in the East Indies as the Dutch might, subsequent to the treaty, obtain possession.

But the secret article soon became, within one year after the signing of the treaty, a subject of contestation, mutual animosity and discord, as we shall see further on. It was tried to be enforced by the one contracting party and evaded by the other; the cause being apparently the difference in the interpretation of the original text, which was in Latin.

The second point in dispute was the article eleven, which ran thus:—"The King of Portugal with the assent and advice of his Council gives, transfers, and by these presents grants and confirms unto the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies with all its rights, profits, territories and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging, and together with all income and revenue, as also the direct and absolute Dominion and Sovereignty of the said Port and Island of Bombay, and premises, with all their royalties, freely, fully, entirely and absolutely," as part of the dowry of the Infanta, the inventory of whose possessions at the time of her marriage is still preserved in the *Torre do Tombo* at Lisbon. But unhappily the negotiators both in Portugal and in England seem to have been absolutely ignorant of the true geographical position and boundaries of Bombay. Lord Clarendon wrote thus:—"And for ever annex to the Crown of England the island of Bombay, with the towns and castles therein, which are within a very little distance from Brazil." "Clayton's *Personal Memoirs*," Vol. II., p. 189. *Cf.* my Memoir "On the Marriage of the Infanta D. Catharina," etc., in the Journal of the *Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LXVII., pp. 137, *et seq.* Now according to Lord Clarendon, Bombay was not only within a very little distance from

Brazil, but had "towns and castles therein," which were evidently towns and castles in the air.

The King of Portugal thus presented, granted and confirmed unto the King of Great Britain the Port and Island of Bombay, with territories, appurtenances, and premises, when Bombay had hardly any premises beyond a few villages in the island, and it was itself an appurtenance of Mé'him, as we have seen above, and the latter a *cacabé* or principal part of a district, subject to the province of Bassein. But even in this circumscribed condition it was once been coveted, as we observed before, by the Dutch and the English in 1526. Again in 1640, according to Bruce's *Annals* (Vol. I., p. 336), it was mentioned as the best place on the Western India Coast for a Station of the East India Company. And then the Surat Council, in 1659, two years before the treaty of marriage was signed, had recommended to the Directors of the East India Company that an application should be made to the King of Portugal to cede them some place on the West Coast, Danda-Rájapuri, Bombay or Versova (*Ibid.*, p. 548). Thus they knew well that Bombay was quite a different place from Versova, and therefore did not include Sálsette.

In spite of this, it was argued that Sálsette was a dependency of Bombay, long after the treaty had been signed, and the marriage duly celebrated, and the island ceded to the English, situated "in that beautiful river of Bombay," *naquelle fermoso rio de Bombaim*, as Padre Braz Dias of Chaul described it to the Viceroy, D. Luiz de Athayde, in 1570, when a coalition of the native potentates was threatening the whole of the Portuguese Settlements in India. (*Decadas* de Diogo do Couto, VIII., Chap. XXXVII., p. 397 of the edition of 1777.

To gain possession of Bombay, Charles II. despatched in March 1662 a fleet of five men of war, under the command of James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough. There were on board the fleet five hundred troops, commanded by Sir Abraham Shipman, who was appointed to be General on shore. And Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of the King of Portugal, who was commissioned to deliver the island and its dependencies, whatever they were, to the King of England, accompanied the Earl of Marlborough on his voyage to Bombay. Antonio de Mello de Castro left the Tagus on the 19th of April, having been appointed Governor and Captain-General of India on the 11th of April 1662.

The English fleet arrived at Bombay on the 18th of September, 1662, according to some, and on the 29th of September, according to others. The Earl of Marlborough then demanded the cession of the island and its dependencies, conformably to the treaty between the King of England and the Crown of Portugal. The English Admiral demanded not only the island and harbour of Bombay, but also the island of Sálsette, believing it to be included in the dependencies of Bombay.

The Portuguese Governor of Bombay or the Captain of Bassein refused the delivery, and the Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro refrained from interposing his authority until he should proceed to Goa and receive instructions from the Portuguese Government there. So he left Bombay and, arriving at Goa on the 12th of December 1662, took possession of the Government in the chief chapel of the church of the Reis Magos on the 14th. The title of Viceroy was not conferred on him until one year later.

In the meanwhile the Earl of Marlborough is said to have thought better and to have demanded the cession of the island of Bombay alone, without any appurtenances, as within the terms of the treaty; but the Portuguese Governor replied that he would do so on the arrival of Sir Abraham Shipman, the commander of the troops, who had been somehow left behind. Sir A. Shipman reached Bombay at last a month later, and produced his credentials, requesting the Governor to yield the island, but the latter objected to the form of the Letters Patent of the King, which were somewhat different from the copy he had brought with him from Lisbon. He, however, offered to retain the island for the King of England till he should receive orders from Portugal and England, empowering him to make the cession. The Admiral and the Commander now applied to Sir George Oxenden for permission to land the troops at Surat, but the President represented that such an application would give offence to the Moghal Governor, who, if the attempt should ever be made, might probably seize the Company's investments and expel the servants from that Fort. The Earl of Marlborough then returned to England with the fleet. He was killed in the great sea-fight with the Dutch in 1665. It is also said that he was anxious to leave the troops at Mauritius; but it was eventually arranged to land them at the unoccupied island of Angediva, 12 leagues to the south of Goa, where in the eighteen following months 300 men died. See my *Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva* in

the *Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XI., pp. 288, *et seq.*

In pursuance of this treaty, the King of Portugal had already issued, on the 9th of Apri 1662, the following orders to Antonio de Mello de Castro, two days before the issue of the alvará of his nomination as Governor of India, which ran thus:—"I, King, send you greeting. By the article of the contract which has been agreed on with the King of England, my good brother and cousin, concerning the dowry portion of the Queen, his wife, my most beloved and esteemed sister, which you will receive with this letter, you will understand why and how the port and country of Bombay relates to him, and the obligation I am under for directing the same to be delivered to him. Immediately as you arrive at the States of India you will ask for the credentials from the King by which you will know the person to whom the possession should be given and the delivery made. You will accordingly cause the same to be made in the manner and form of that capitulation, observing the same yourself and causing the whole and every part thereof to be duly observed, and direct that the whole may be committed to writing very clearly and distinctly so as at all time to appear the whole that may pass in this affair. You will further send the same to me by different conveyances in order to settle and adjust the acquittance of the dowry promised to the King, and by the other articles of that treaty it will be present to you, the Union we celebrated, and the obligation the King has to afford me succour in all my urgencies and necessity I may have. In any necessity you may find it convenient to apply to the English you will do so, and at the same time you will assist them in the same way. King. Written at Lisbon, the 9th of April 1662," *Archivo da Relacaõ*, etc., Part II, p. 531. Also *Materials*, *ut supra*, pp. 9-10.

Thus Antonio de Mello de Castro was both a Royal Commissioner for the delivery of the port and island of Bombay, and Viceroy of Portuguese India. In his former capacity he was ordered by his King "to ask for the credentials from the King (of England) by which you will understand the person to whom the possession should be given and the delivery made" and in the latter he had to consult the interests of his own Government.

The consequence of this double incumbency was that the Viceroy refused to surrender the island. In justification of this refusal to obey his Majesty's commands, he wrote to the King on the 28th of December 1662 a long letter, which I append below in full, as only

a few extracts from it have hitherto been published. A copy of the original is preserved in the archives of the Goa Secretariat. *Livro das Monções*, No. 28, fol. 457. See Rivara's *Additamento, ut supra*, pp. 174, *et seq.*

"Sire.—It is more on account of the duty of the post than from any need that I inform your Majesty of my sufferings in this voyage with the English, who will themselves make them known. For there were many who reproved the excesses of Captain Richard Minors, in whose company I came to this State. And General Marlborough continued them with greater harshness even in the Port of Bombay.

"From the report sent with this letter your Majesty will be able to learn that not a day was passed without molestation, and I was sometimes warned that they wanted to kill all the Portuguese. Their senseless provocations might have well led us to use arms in revenge; but I contented myself with keeping them ready for defence. With more attention to your Majesty's service than to my life, I bore the risk and slights, expecting to send to your Majesty my complaints. I hope the world will see that my patience has not injured my reputation, but on the contrary has increased it for being in the service of your Majesty, who knows to greatly appreciate it, as all my sufferings tend to your Majesty's service.

"It did not appear convenient to hand over the island of Bombay, as the British refused me assistance every time I asked for it, and Marlborough went so far as to undeceive me not only by words, stating that the capitulations were formal (*modo geral*) and involved no obligation, but also by actions, handing over wickedly to the Moors of Anjuanne 42 of your Majesty's vassals, among whom there were 27 Christians, whom I had with me in the vessel. They did this in so barbarous a manner and such indecency, that they took from my arms a little child, which I had sheltered with the mother in my cabin, because three days before I had stood its god-father at the baptism.

"The reason for not surrendering the island was the same order which I had received from your Majesty, and which I must obey; and as neither I nor the councillors understand it, it is necessary to report the very words written by your Majesty on this matter, reminding that in case of doubt it was my duty to seek the sense most convenient for your service. The letter says:—"As soon as you arrive at the State of India you shall demand the King's warrant, and thereby

you will know the person to whom the possession should be given and the delivery made.

"Abraham Shipman gave me, instead of the warrant, which I asked for, a sealed letter written in Latin, and Letters Patent in English. The letter had defects, as mentioned in the statement I ordered to be written, and the Letters Patent had not the signature of the King of England. I doubted the validity of the one and the other, as all the Letters Patent I have ever seen had the Royal signature; and there could be no more reason for the omission in this case than in my letter which was signed. Is it the practice in England for the King to sign or not? If it is, how is it that the Letters Patent were not signed; if it is not, how was then the letter signed? Besides, I thought that there was a difference between the warrant and the missive letter. The letter is for one to whom it is addressed, the warrant is for the public. If Royal persons do not write warrants as we do, they write instead Letters Patent, which are public and not private or missive letters. If I doubted, Sire, the letter which they call a warrant, how could I hand them over the place, as the conditions under which your Majesty's instructions were given were wanting?

"The same letter from your Majesty to me says that you will know the person to whom the possession should be given and the delivery made. You will accordingly cause the same to be made in the manner and form of that capitulation, observing the same yourself and causing the whole and every part thereof to be duly observed.

"The secret chapter which your Majesty sent me says, that the King of England agrees to arrange peace between your Majesty and the Dutch on honourable, advantageous, and safe terms for your Majesty, and, in the event of the Dutch not agreeing to the terms, he will send such a fleet as will defend and protect the Portuguese possessions in India, and that his fleet shall be sent at the same time as the instructions for the handing over of Bombay are given.

"If your Majesty orders me to hand over Bombay, in accordance with the terms of the capitulations, it follows that I cannot hand it over in another form. The terms of the capitulations require that the King of England shall first arrange the treaty of peace; that the Dutch should first either agree to the terms or not and continue the war, and that a sufficient fleet should be sent to help us in the latter case. Allow me, your Majesty, to copy here the same words from the Latin, which are more powerful than in Portuguese. *Qui, si hujusmodi*

conditiones concedere recusaverint, tunc dictus Magnae Britaniae Rex, cum classem suam ad capiendam possessionem portus, et Insulae Bombaym miserit, tales, ac tantas copias simul mittet, instructas tam viribus, quam mandatis, ut possint defendere, ac protegere omnes Lusitanorum possessiones in Indiis Orientatibus. So that the King of England cannot take possession of Bombay, until after the treaty of peace is made or refused, and (*tunc*) then, which is the word exclusive of any other time, if peace is not made he shall take possession, and at the same time send the said fleet with the power and orders to defend us. If your Majesty orders me to surrender in the mode and form of these capitulations, and in no other manner, as said above, when the treaty of peace is neither accepted nor refused, and no fleet has arrived, except three ships, without neither force nor orders to help us, how can I account to your Majesty for delivering the island of Bombay?

"Moreover, I see the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared, treated as of little value by the Portuguese themselves. I see in the Island of Bombay so many Christian souls which some day will be forced to change their religion by the English. How will they allow Catholics to reside in their territories when they hand over Catholics in the island of Anjuanne to the Moors? I considered also that your Majesty has no other place to receive and shelter your Majesty's ships and the galleons of your fleet when that bar is closed. The English once there, and the island fortified, your Majesty will lose all to the north, as they will take away all your Majesty's trade. They bring the same articles as we do, and of better quality; they will compel all vessels to be put into that harbour, and lay duties, as we did formerly; we shall have to receive from them what Europe sought from us; even the provisions of our lands, which supply all our fortresses, we shall have to buy from them; because giving one or two xerafins more for each mura of rice, they will gather all and sell afterwards for its weight in gold. Do not believe your Majesty that it will be possible to prevent it, for no diligence will be enough, and that was the manner in which the Moghals have destroyed those lands, through which cause many persons have died from famine. It is yet possible to prevent them from taking away the provisions, for which I have left in those parts necessary instructions. But it is impossible in Bombay, because it is separated from Sálsette by only a cannon shot, and it would have to spend more in keeping watch than it would yield in revenue. Lastly,

the criminals will find a shelter there, and, if with the neighbourhood of the Moors they commit so many crimes, how daring will they be with that security?

"The English are at peace with us now, but what would it be in case of war? How can those islands which are the granaries of India, once wedged in between the British and the Mogores (Moghals) be defended? Who can prevent the natives from passing over; what drugs and merchandise will traders go to Goa in search of?

"I have shown how I have obeyed your Majesty's orders by preserving the reputation of your Majesty's arms, and prevented the total loss and destruction of your Majesty's territories by not handing over Bombay.

"Now let your Majesty command the consideration of this subject, remembering that seeing is different from hearing; and as you are my King and Lord, I do my duty in giving this information, that your Majesty may order what is convenient. If it is not liked, I shall be sorry, but it suffices that no blame be attached to me at any time.

"As a remedy for all the aforesaid there is only one thing, and that is for your Majesty to buy this island from the King of England. In another letter to your Majesty I say that your Majesty can give from 200 to 300,000 cruzados (£25,000 to £37,500) in three years; now I say your Majesty can give 500,000, 600,000, nay even 1,000,000 cruzados (£62,500; 75,000; nay even 125,000), and I undertake to say that all in this State, who would be pleased to be free from such a yoke, would assist in carrying out the arrangement. This purchase will further help to make peace firmer with the English, because such a neighbourhood will occasion every day discontent and strife ending in war. It is necessary to be careful and cautious in this affair, in order that the English may know that your Majesty's only motive is the resistance from this State and your desire to remove the discontent from your vassals, because if they understand otherwise everything else will be of little moment to them.

"Forgive your Majesty the faults that may be found in this letter, because the zeal and love with which I write well deserve it. God preserve the most high and powerful person of your Majesty, as your vassals have need.

Goa, 28th of December, 1662. Antonio de Mello de Castro."
Cf. *Tratados*, T. III., p. 38.

Probably before receiving this letter from the Viceroy, and in virtue of the remonstrances from the English Court, the King of Portugal had sent to the Viceroy, on the 16th of August 1663, the following order :—

"I, King, send you greeting. By the way of England, intelligence reached me that in the States of India doubts arose with respect to the delivery of the town of Bombay to the order of the King of Great Britain, my good brother and cousin, in conformity of mine which you carried with you. At this I was greatly surprised and am very sorry, because besides the reasons of convenience of this Crown, and more especially of the State of India, which made it necessary for me to take that resolution, I wish much to give the King of England, my brother, every satisfaction. For these and other considerations of the same identity, as well as because the King, my brother, must have sent fresh orders, removing every doubt there might have originated from those he sent first, I therefore direct and order that you do, in compliance with those orders of mine which you carried with you, cause to execute the said delivery with every punctuality, and without the least contradiction, as the matter does not admit of any, and the delay is very prejudicial. By complying therewith, as I expect from you, I will consider myself well served by you. If you meet with any impediment from any person, you will order to proceed against him publicly, as the case may require. Written at Lisbon, the 16th of August 1663. King. The Count of Castello Melhor." *Livro das Monções*, No. 31, fol. 126. *Additamento, ut supra*, p. 183. *Archivo da Relação de Goa*, Part II, p. 531. Also *Materials*, etc. Part I, p. 12.

Charles II. on his side, hearing that the Portuguese Viceroy had refused to cede the island, ordered a memorial to be presented to the Portuguese Ambassador, in which he requested that the Court of Portugal should refund £100,000 for the expenses of the late expedition, and should send orders to the Viceroy of Goa to immediately cede the island of Bombay and its dependencies, the islands of Sálsette and Thána (*sic*), to the King's forces which had been left behind. The Portuguese Court replied to the memorial to the effect that by the treaty the island of Bombay alone was intended to be ceded, and not its dependencies, of which it had none. Along with this reply to the British Court, the above letter was addressed by the King, D. Affonso, to the Viceroy, urging the final settlement of the matter. And King Charles, to remove any doubt as to the person to whom

Bombay should be handed, issued a new commission in favour of Sir Abraham Shipman, dated the 23rd of November 1663, which is as follows:—

"Charles, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,—To all to whom these presents shall come, and to each of them in particular, we send greeting. In the manner that it was settled, concluded, and treated between us and the Most Serene King, the Prince Dom Affonso, by the same King of Portugal, brother, relation, and most dear and beloved friend, the said sovereign of Portugal, gave, transferred, granted and confirmed unto us, our heirs and successors for ever, the port and island of Bombay, in the East Indies, with all its rights, utilities, appendages and territories whatsoever, and having, moreover, settled and concluded in the said treaty that the port and island aforesaid should be peaceably and quietly delivered unto us, or to the persons deputed by us for this purpose, that we may have free use of one and the other: Be it therefore known that, confiding in the prudence and integrity of the faithful Abraham Shipman, our beloved subject, Knight of the Golden Ensign and Gentleman of our Privy Council, we have made, ordained and deputed, and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute and appoint our true and indubitable Commissary Deputy and Attorney to take possession of the said port and island of Bombay, giving and granting unto the said Abraham Shipman our true and lawful power and authority to receive in our name and for our use the said port and island of Bombay, together with the fortress and other things belonging to us by the contract. And for the better execution of the said concession or grant made us, we have, in witness whereof and by these presents, set our hand and caused our seals to be affixed. Given in our Palace of Whitehall, the 23rd day of the month of November 1663, the fifteenth year of our reign—(Signed) Charles K." *Materials, ut supra*, pp. 12-13.*

* The original of this commission was in Latin as follows:—Carlus Dei gratia Magnae Britaniæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Rex, Fidei defensor, etc. Omnibus et singulis ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint, salutem. Quandoquidem tractatu inter nos, et Serenissimum Principem Dominum Alphonsum eadem gratia Regem Portugaliæ, etc. Fratrem, consanguineum et amicum nostrum charissimum, facto atque inito, dictus Dominus Portugaliæ Rex dederit, transtulerit, concesserit, et confirmaverit nobis, hæredibus et successoribus nostris in perpetuum Portum ac Insulam Bombaim, in Indiis Orientalibus cum omnibus suis juribus proficuis, et territoriis quibuscumque, atque insuper dicto tractatu conventum et conclusum fuerit, quod quieta et pacifi-

On receipt of this commission, on the 5th of April 1664, Sir A. Shipman issued orders to the forces of His Britannic Majesty in the island of Bombay, constituting and ordaining Humphrey Cooke as Vice-Governor, and in his absence Ensign John Torne, commanding a regiment of soldiers, then quartered on the island of Anjediva. These orders were signed, sealed and delivered in presence of John Folderry, Thomas Price, Roger Morgan and Henry Anderson.

A copy of this commission, written at Angediva, on the 17th of October 1664, was forwarded to Goa in November 1664, with an endorsement certifying that it was a true copy of the original, which remained in charge of the Vice-Governor, Humphrey Cooke. It was signed by John Stevens, Valenter Farred, Walter Golopher, John Bird, William Lincoln and Thomas Farly. To this list was added the name of João Gregorio, of the Company of Jesus, certifying, *in verbo Sacerdotis*, that it was a true translation conformable to the original, on the 5th of November 1664, and on the following day Antonio Gil Preto (another copy calls him Antonio Gabriel Preto), Senior Clerk of the Civil Court, and of Justifications of the State of Goa, attested the same to be the handwriting and signature of Padre João Gregorio. See *Archivo da Relação*, etc., Pt. II., pp. 534-35; and *Materials*, *ut supra*., p. 13.

In the meantime, another Jesuit, Manuel Godinho, of whom I have already spoken, was carrying to Lisbon overland from India the correspondence relating to this affair.

Padre Manuel Godinho was not the first Portuguese who travelled

---

ca ejusdem portus ac Insulæ possessio nobis vel personis ad hoc per nos deputandis in usum nostrum libere tradatur; sciatis igitur, quod nos prudentia ac integritate fidelis, ac dilecti subditi nostri Abrahami Shipman, equitis aurati, et a privato cubiculo nostro, plurimum confidentes eundem fecimus ordenavimus, et deputavimus ac per præsentes facimus, ordinamus, ac constituimus nostrum verum et indubitatum commissarium, deputatum, ac procuratorem ad dicti portus ac Insulae Bombaim possessionem capiendam, dantes eidem Abrahamo Shipman, et concedentes veram et omnimodam potestatem, et authoritatem dictum portum et Insulam, una cum propugnaculis, cæterisque rebus, ad nos ex fœdere pertinentibus, nostro nomine, et in usum nostrum recipiendi in plenam executionem dictæ concessionis nobis factæ; in cujus rei fidem, et testimonium præsentes manu et sigillo nostro signavimus, et muniri fecimus. Dabantur apud Palatium nostrum de Whitehall 23°, die Mensis Novembris 1663° anno Regni nostri 15°. Carolus R. Ad'mandatum Serenissimi Regis. Henriquus Bonot. *Archivo da Relação de Goa*, Part II., p. 534. Besides this, there is the translation of the old commission, written at Westminster on the 14th of March, in the 14th year of the reign. *Ibid.*, pp. 532-33.

overland from the East to the West. Fr. Gaspar de S. Bernardino, who had suffered in the year 1506 from shipwreck on the coast of the island of the Moon or of St. Lawrence, now Madagascar, whence he crossed to the African continent, went first to Mombassa, and then to the Red Sea, and from the Cape of Ras-el-Gat to Ormuz. Starting from this island he went to Persia, and along the Syrian coast to Cyprus, and thence to the Holy Land. From here he went to Candia, or the island of Crete, and after spending some time at the Ionic islands, he sailed to Spain and then to Portugal.

Padre Manuel Godinho followed a different route, although the aim of their journey was identical. He was born in 1630, and entered, on the 3rd of June 1645, the Society of Jesus, in the noviciate of Coimbra, at the early age of fifteen. It is not known when he came to India, but that he was a man of some authority can be easily inferred both from the work he has left behind him, and from the important political mission with which he was charged by the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro. Padre Manuel Godinho could find no vessel in any of the Portuguese harbours to embark for Persia. The disastrous war with the Dutch, and the supremacy of the Arabs, who had become masters of the Straits, intimidating the Portuguese merchants, who, if they escaped from the Hollanders in the Indian Ocean, were in danger of falling into the hands of the Arabs, either in the Red Sea, or in the Persian Gulf, compelled the travellers to disguise themselves in various fashions, and to follow a circuitous track in order to arrive at their destination. Accordingly Father Godinho, dressed as a soldier, left Bassein on the 15th of December 1662, and went to Dáman. Here he got prepared a Mahomedan costume, which he considered more suitable than that of a soldier, as he desired to sail to Persia in a Moslem ship. So he exchanged his long sword for a sabre, his hat for a turban, and his coat for a long robe.

Padre Godinho found Damán surrounded by walls 30 feet high and 20 thick, with ten strong bastions and about forty cannon and other pieces of artillery. The moat of the fort was connected with the river and had to be crossed by a drawbridge. On the other side of the river, on its bank, was a fort, called S. Jeronimo, higher than Damán, and garrisoned by 60 soldiers under the command of a captain. There were two parochial churches, the cathedral and another, with four convents, and as many religious orders of St. Dominic, of St. Augustine, of St. Francis and of the Society of

Jesus, the rector of whose college was at the same time administrator of the works of the fortress.

The Portuguese houses had dwindled down from a much larger number to one hundred, the native population being more numerous. The jurisdiction of Damán furnished a contingent of 3,000 armed men, partly infantry and partly cavalry. The Portuguese of Damán were good horsemen. Most of them held villages as *foreiros*, on condition of maintaining Arab horses. The temporal matters of the city were administered by a captain appointed by the King, the spiritual affairs being under a Vicar da Vara, justice under an Ouvidor, and the finances under a Feitor, who was also an Alcaide-mór, or chief magistrate. The district of Damán contained 300 villages, four captaincies, of Sañján, Dhanu, Máhim (Khelve) and Tarapur, besides four garrisoned pallisades (*tranqueiras presidiadas*) of Solsumba, Calamuquel, Panselá and Josolim.

On his arrival at Surat, Padre Godinho took his lodgings with the French Capuchins, of whom I shall have to speak more at length further on. The city of Surat contained then more than 100,000 inhabitants of all creeds and nationalities. There were numerous mosques and some noble and elegant houses. Padre Godinho considered it to be not only the greatest emporium in India, but one of the richest cities in the world.

Anchor was weighed on the 5th of February 1663, and the ship sailed for 16 days with a favourable wind towards the Persian Gulf, when it was overtaken by a calm, followed by a storm, which drove the ship to the bar of Maskat. On the 1st of March he was between the islands of Larak and Ormuz. He landed at Bandar Abbas, whence he travelled by land to Congo, embarking from the latter place to Basra, where our traveller on the 29th of March took up his lodgings with a bare-footed Carmelite of the place. While there a courier arrived from India, sent by the Dutch to the Carmelite Fathers with letters, informing their Government that the Portuguese had lost Cochin on the 10th of January 1663. This event grieved Padre Godinho very much, and induced him to accelerate his journey in order that he might be able to inform the King of Portugal of this loss, and lead to the speedy conclusion of peace with Holland. He started from Basra on the 9th of April, and after travelling through Mesopotamia arrived on the 3rd of May at Aleppo. On the way to Baghdad, which he reached on the 19th of April, he suffered much from want of provisions and of water. There was no wind, and

the sun was very hot. While repenting of having chosen such a bad route, our traveller was thinking of the springs of water he had left behind him in India. "My memory," he writes, "was occupied with the fountain of Bangani, of Mormugão, and the well of the Pilar in Goa, the fountain of the Agoada at Bassein (at the village of Dongri, situated at the north-western extremity of the island of Sálsette), that of Corlem (Kurla) in Sálsette, the tank of Siracer at Thána, the waters of Mangate at Cochin, and those of Manapar at the Pescaria (the Fishery Coast) and others which I had seen and drunk." p. 146.

He left Baghdad on the 21st of April, and, after undergoing much distress, reached the suburbs of Aleppo, where he spent more than twenty days of the month of May, and left that city on the 1st of June 1663, and on the third day of the journey reached Alexandretta or Skanderoon, where he embarked in a French vessel for Malta, and then for Marseilles. His vessel cast anchor on the 22nd of July at Marseilles, where he went to the college of the Jesuits, and, after spending with them some time during the festival of St. Ignatius, set out for Bordeaux. From this city he went to Rochelle, where he embarked on the 10th of September on board the ship *Mazarin*—a suitable name for a vessel conveying a passenger connected with a diplomatic mission relating to the dowry of the Infanta in which the great French Cardinal was himself once interested—to Lisbon, where he landed, at Cascaes, at the mouth of the Tagus, on the 25th of October 1663.

The letter of the Viceroy, dated the 28th of December 1662, was conveyed by Padre Godinho to the King, Affonso VI., who along with his ministers are said to have accorded him a most cordial reception (*condigno acolhimento*). In reply to that letter, the King of Portugal wrote to the Viceroy on the 8th of February 1664 as follows:—

"By your letter which has been brought to us overland by Manuel Godinho, a Religious of the Company of Jesus, I saw with great pain the difficulties which have arisen with regard to the delivery of Bombay to the King of Britain, my brother and cousin, according to the capitulations, and the orders I gave you when you left. Whatever is stipulated in "the capitulations and reasons for giving contentment to the King, my brother, admits of no doubt, and I trust that with your prudence you have now arranged matters so far that you will carry out my instructions without further delay. Should any fresh difficulties present themselves, I order you to overcome

them in a manner that I may feel grateful to you. To the inhabitants of the island you must say that they have misunderstood the Article of Capitulation shown them, as their estates (*fazendas*) will not be confiscated, but they will be allowed to remain in possession of them as heretofore. The only difference will be that they will live under the dominion of the King of Great Britain, my brother, who will rule them with justice and in the freedom of the Roman Catholic religion, as it is the practice in Europe among many peoples and cities with similar treaties, and with his power he will defend them and secure them in their trade, that they may attain to the opulence they desire. The King of England also undertakes to protect the places I have in that State, and this was one of the reasons for my giving him that island. The inhabitants of the island are so closely allied by nationality, parentage, and convenience to the best of the Portuguese all over India that I consider the arrangement will be for their common good. You must use all the means in your power to hand over the place soon, as this affair will admit of no delay. Immediately the delivery has taken place you will advise me, as it is of the utmost importance that it should be known here. Written at Lisbon in Salvaterra de Magos (*sic*) 8th of February 1664. King. The Count of Castello Melhor. For Antonio de Mello de Castro." *Livro das Monções*, No. 30, fol. 15. *Additamento, ut supra*, pp. 183, 184.

On receipt of the above letter, Antonio de Mello de Castro learnt that Sir Abraham Shipman, whom Orme calls Andrew, had died. Some say that he had died in September 1664, and others on the 5th of April 1664, the day he made his will at Angediva, where three hundred of his men had also perished. Anjediva was then a desolate island, and belonged to nobody. Here they remained less than two years under the shelter of a few huts, and without sufficient protection from the deadly effects of the climate. The marshy condition of the island, the absence of any comfort and accommodation to which a European is accustomed, and the scarcity of provisions thinned their numbers rapidly in that short interval of time. Antonio de Mello de Castro was at a loss as to whom he should surrender Bombay. He accordingly addressed himself, on the 3rd of November 1664, to the Supreme Court of Goa, to the effect that as the King of England had given a commission to Sir A. Shipman to receive the island of Bombay on his Majesty's behalf, and had not extended that power to anyone else, he did not know to whom he should now

surrender it. The Court replied that, having duly examined the will of Abraham Shipman and the commission from the King of England, they were of opinion that the same power was extended to Humphrey Cooke, who had been nominated by Abraham Shipman by virtue of the said commission, and that the island should be accordingly handed over to him.

The following is a literal translation of the original text in Portuguese of the letter addressed by the Viceroy to the Supreme Court of Goa :—" I have received a letter from His Majesty, whom God preserve, ordering me to deliver Bombay, but I do not know to whom to deliver it, as Abraham Shipman, in whose behalf the King of England had issued the commission, is dead, and it is not transferable to any other person. And as this order is identical with the one I brought with me, directing that I should demand the credentials from the King to the person to whom the possession of the island shall be given and the delivery made, committing the whole to writing, in order to avoid any uncertainty for all time, in virtue of the capitulations, I thought the matter to belong rather to law, and sent the letters and the warrant to the Court, requesting them to decide in the mode judicial for the delivery of the island, thus satisfying both the King of England with what has been promised him, and the King our Lord, by obeying strictly his orders, writing a statement of all the circumstances, as the letter requires and the right demands. I request the magistrates (*desembargadores*) that, after reading the papers, and weighing the words, they send me their opinions in writing, to be discussed in the Council of the State, and to settle all other points relating to this affair, and all to be done as quickly as possible. Panelim, 3rd of November 1664. Antonio de Mello de Castro." *Archivo da Relação*, etc., Part II., p. 530.

On the 5th of November, 1664, a copy of H. Cooke's commission was forwarded to Goa, with an endorsement, written at Angediva on the 17th of October 1664, and signed by five Englishmen and one Portuguese, the above-mentioned João Gregorio, the latter certifying that the translation was conformable to the original. And on the 6th of the same month Antonio Gabriel Preto, senior clerk to the Civil Court, attested to the genuineness of the handwriting and signature of Padre João Gregorio, as already referred to before.

Thus, in consequence of the royal letters of the 16th of August 1663, and the 8th of February 1664, to the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, urging the delivery of Bombay, it was finally resolved

to hand it over to Humphrey Cooke, with whom the Viceroy had become acquainted in Lisbon, where he was once carrying on the trade of a tanner, as some say, or grocer as others, and was now appointed Vice-Governor. Sir George Oxenden also wrote from Surat, on the 24th of November 1666, in reference to Cooke, thus :—" I am sorry to say he was once a pretender to be a merchant himself." Evidently Humphrey Cooke's social position did not stand high in the opinion of either the Portuguese or the English. It is said, moreover, that delays were still caused by the Goa authorities who refused for a time to admit that Humphrey and Inofre were the same name. But when the doubt was removed, the Viceroy drew up on the 26th of December 1664 a statement of the case, and appointed a commission of the Vedôr da Fazenda, or Overseer of the General Estates, Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos and Dr. Sebastião Alvares Migos, Chanceler da Relação or Chancellor of the Court of Justice at Goa, to carry out the decision of the Court, on which date he wrote a letter to the Vice-Governor. This was followed by another letter of the 4th of January, and a third of the 8th of January 1665, all relating to mere matters of form. This third letter referred to the death of his relative, Francisco de Mello de Castro, which was also the name of his father, who was Admiral of the Indian fleet. This Commission with the *alvará* or instrument, dated the 10th of January, left Goa on the 17th of January 1665, the Portuguese fleet escorting the Commission as far as Chaul under the Viceroy's son, Dionisio de Mello de Castro, who was Captain Commandant. It reached Bombay on the 11th of February, and handed over the island and harbour of Bombay to Humphrey Cooke on the 18th of that month. The possession took place at the large house of the Lady of the Island, D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto. All the five documents above mentioned, *viz.*, the statement of the case by the Viceroy of the 26th of December 1664, his three letters, dated Pangim, the 26th of December, the 4th of January and the 8th of January, 1665, and the *alvará* or instrument of possession of the 10th of January 1665, have often been published before, both in Portuguese and in English, and I need not repeat them here. Their latest issue will be found in the *Materials*, *ut supra*, pp. 14-16.

But a most interesting document that has never yet been translated into English, although it has been published in the original, is the last letter of the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, to the King

of Portugal. It is dated the 5th of January 1665, 10 days after he drew the statement of the case mentioned above, and 5 days before the issue of the *alvará*.

This letter runs thus:—"Sire: By the way of England has reached me this year a letter from your Majesty on the surrender of Bombay. Although the warrant that was shown to me was more doubtful than the first, being addressed to a man who was dead, and had no successor; but, understanding that it was your Majesty's pleasure, and the whole Council having decided that possession should be given without further delay, and the Supreme Court of Judicature being of opinion that the warrant, notwithstanding its form, was sufficient, I ordered the Vedôr da Fazenda and the Chancellor of the State to proceed to the north for this purpose, and gave them directions (*regimento*), a copy of which I send herewith. I confess at the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed, because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese; and that India will be lost the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay. I have faithfully responded to the trust your Majesty has reposed on me, appointing me to this post, and to the honour I have inherited from my ancestors. I have been actuated by these feelings during all the time I have been informing your Majesty of the inconvenience of this resolution, giving my reasons for not surrendering the island. I hope from the greatness of your Majesty that, after seeing my papers, you will command the judgment of my acts, and that they will be found to be in accordance with my duty. Your Majesty being well served of my zeal is the only reward I aspire to. God preserve the Catholic and Royal Person of Your Majesty, as Christendom and vassals have need. Goa, 5th of January 1665. Antonio de Mello de Castro." *Livro das Monções*, No. 31, fol. 162. *Additamento*, etc., p. 185. C. L. M. de Barbuda's *Instrucções*, etc., Pt. III., p. 76, and Loureiro's *Estabelecimentos Portuguezes*, etc., p. 201, *et seq.*

Of all prophecies which are proverbially dangerous, political prophecy is the most fallacious of all. But the prophecy of the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, "*e que se acabou a India no mesmo dia em que a Nacão Ingleza fizer assento em Bombaim*" has been fulfilled to the letter.

After the surrender of the island of Bombay had been realised, the Council of the State considered the matter once again, and found

that the cession of the island had been illegal, on account of its being made without the consent of the Cortes, which had never sanctioned these transactions. The Council then proposed to pay an indemnity in money, and orders were in the meanwhile sent to India to stay the delivery of the island. But it was too late, and had therefore no effect. Dilatoriness and procrastination have, indeed, been constitutional defects of the peoples of the Spanish peninsula, and fatally detrimental to their most vital interests, to all order and progress.

One of the last documents relating to the cession of Bombay "now for the first time translated into English, is a letter from the King, dated the 15th of April 1665. It is addressed to the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro and runs thus :—"I, King, send you greeting. On account of the difficulties raised for the delivery of Bombay, I despatched to England Francisco Ferreira Rebello charged with this affair alone, to try to compose this matter, and the Marquis of Sande, my Ambassador Extraordinary, who was in that Court, made all diligence, and finally the King, my good brother, by the goodwill he has for my things, allowed the consideration of an indemnity in money; but he wants such large sums that they reach to millions. Thus it is necessary to make great efforts and to use all means to collect them. As it is not possible to settle this affair without giving at first a considerable sum, and as this kingdom with the wars with Castile is found to be in want of means (*se acha nas faltas de cabedal*) which is well known, it is necessary to draw as great a part of this amount from the State of India, as, according to what you wrote me upon the subject, it may be possible to obtain. For this reason I order and much recommend that, in the manner that you may deem convenient, you try to collect without delay a contribution, and remit by the first ship all that you can, in order that in case any settlement be arrived at, whatsoever sum is necessary may be ready. And in case it fails the sum collected would remain as a contribution to the conclusion of peace with Holland. This matter being so important to all that people, I trust that they will contribute with the goodwill that the matter demands, and you will be doing me a particular service in preparing everything that there is need of. Written at Lisbon, 15th of April 1665. King. The Count of Castello Melhor." *Livro das Monções*, No. 32, fol. 67. Cf. T. de Aragão's *Descripção*, etc., p. 246.

But, in spite of all these efforts, Charles II. would not certainly

give up Bombay, which the British had coveted from 1626, and which Oliver Cromwell, during the Protectorate in 1645, had attempted to get possession of, unless the King of Portugal was prepared to pay him a large sum of money, some millions, perhaps, of which the Portuguese had then none. Nor had the Brazilian mines yet yielded that amount of gold and diamonds, which some time later attracted numerous British merchants to the banks of the Tagus. So the King turned to his Eldorado, India, which was by this time not in utter decadence, but greatly exhausted. All these political questions were after all mainly based on money matters, whose supremacy is universally recognised in all diplomatic relations.

Meantime the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, was quite disgusted with the whole affair. He handed over the Government on the 17th of October 1666 to his successor, João Nunes da Cunha, Count of S. Vicente, a descendant of the great Nuno da Cunha, and retired to the metropolis by the ship "S. Pedro de Alcantara," in the following February. He died in 1689. The Count of S. Vicente was a learned, brave and energetic man, but, as the fates were against the Portuguese, he did not live long. Within two years of his arrival in India, he died at the premature age of 49 years, and was buried in the Church of Bom Jesus near the altar of St. Francis Xavier. His death was considered to be a great national loss, his merit and his noble character being duly appreciated by all, rich and poor, as one of his biographers says.

Humphrey Cooke or Inofre Coque, as the Portuguese chronicles write, the former Secretary to Sir Abraham Shipman, now became the first English Governor of Bombay, according to the instrument of possession, from the 18th of February 1665. But not without Mr. Cooke signing a new convention, drawn up by the Viceroy, which has often been published before. One of its latest editions is in the *Selections, etc., ut supra*, appendix B., Vol. II., pp. 377, *et seq.*

This new treaty, consisting of fourteen articles, on the signing of which Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of India, delivered up the island of Bombay to Humphrey Cooke, is dated the 14th of January 1665.

Upon the completion of this convention, Mr. Humphrey Cooke sought the assistance of three of the East India Company's ships, lading at the time at Karwar for Surat, to convey himself and the men with him to Bombay. This service was, however, declined,

awaiting the instructions from Sir George Oxenden, the President, who shortly after despatched ships and other assistance towards the removal of the troops from Angediva. They were then sent to Bombay, accompanied by the Portuguese fleet under the command of Dionizio de Mello de Castro, which fleet the said Viceroy sent as far as the city of Chaul, as said above.

The instrument of possession being duly signed and executed at the Large House (*Casas Grandes da Senhora da Ilha*, says the original) of D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto, the Viceroy being represented by Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos and Sebastião Alvares Migos, and the King of Great Britain by Humphrey Cooke, the possession was immediately given, or the delivery of the island of Bombay made, by the following ceremonial:

Humphrey Cooke, on the acceptance of these articles, of the 14th of January 1665, said, assured and promised that this should be so, and "took himself personally the possession and delivery of the said port and island of Bombay, walking thereupon, taking in his hand earth and stones, entering and walking upon its bastions, putting his hands to the walls thereof, and walking also on the said island, taking into his hands the earth and stones thereof, and making all other like acts which in right were necessary without any impediment or contradiction." See for details on this subject *Gabinete Litterario*, Vol. IV., article *Bombaim*, pp. 252, *et seq.*; and also *Dic. Hist. Exp. to Uma Viagem*, etc., p. 12, *et seq.* In these works Humphrey Cooke's name is written Phriscooque, and also Inofre Coque. So it is no wonder that this divergence in name occasioned some doubts as to his identity, that is, whether Inofre Coque was the same individual as Humphrey Cooke, nominated by Sir Abraham Shipman as his successor, in the commission of the 5th of April, 1664, constituting and ordaining him as Vice-Governor, and in his absence John Torne.

The witnesses to the act of the possession and delivery of the island were, on the Portuguese side, the following vereadores of the city of Bassein:—João Mendes de Menezes, and D. Luiz Henriques Nicolao Galvão, the Judge ordinary Manoel da Silva, the attorney Antonio da Costa Raposo, the clerk of the Chamber Sebastião Rodrigues da Silva, the Mayor of the city Vicente Rebello d' Almeida, and the Factor and Magistrate Amaro de Azavedo. The Captain of the city of Bassein, Ruy Mendes de Vasconcellos da Costa, could not be present as a witness to this deed, because he was ill and confined to his bed. The English witnesses were Ensign John

Torne, John Stevens, Henri Gueri, Richard Ball, Walter Galoper, John Bird, John Folderry, and Thomas Petery. Antonio Monteiro da Fonseca was the Notary Public of the city of Bassein and districts of the King of Portugal. He came over here to Bombay at the request of the above mentioned Vasconcellos and Migos, and wrote the instrument of possession and delivery in the manner and form related, the whole consisting of fourteen articles or conditions, which are also given at length in the *Materials*, etc., Part I., p. 20, *et seq.*

The field-captain of the city of Bassein, Valentino Soares, and other noblemen and knights were also present, and are said to have signed the instrument, although their names are not seen in the documents referring to the convention with the Viceroy of Goa. Mr. Cooke took possession of "the island of Bombay" on the 18th of February 1665. Mr. Gray, one of the Council of Surat, then held a muster of the troops brought up to Bombay from Angediva. Regarding these troops the writer in the *Monthly Miscellany* says:—"The troops which left England in 1662 amounted to four Companies of a hundred men each, independent of officers—they numbered in December 1664, one hundred and three privates, with a sadly thinned list of officers. In compliance with a solicitation of Sir George Oxenden, Mr. Cooke supplied the following roll of his force, exclusive of himself, one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, one gunner's mate, one gunsmith, and ninety-seven privates, with twenty-two pieces of cannon and eight hundred and seventy-eight rounds of shot." pp. 103-104.

One might have thought that with the final act of this interesting drama, of the delivery of the island on the 18th of February 1665, the curtain would fall. But there remained still an epilogue, the question of the boundaries. One of the articles of the new convention was to the effect, that no inhabitants shall lose their rights either patrimonial or what is held from the Crown, unless they forfeit according to the laws of Portugal. This must have been due to the resistance offered by the inhabitants, about whom Orme has the additional observation that "the Portuguese gentry, among whom the lands of the island were divided, pretended that the terms of cession were contrary to their rights, and being abetted in their cavils by their connections at Bassein and Goa, refused to acknowledge the Viceroy if he persisted."

When the English Governor requested the commissioners to define the position of the territories of Bombay, and of the villages of

Mazagão, Parella, Varli, Mahim, Sião, Daravi and Vadala, they replied that they were not instructed to hand over villages, but only the island of Bombay, which, as we all know, lay then surrounded by the sea. The commission, eventually, defined the position of Mazagão, Parella and Varli, as belonging to the territory of the island of Bombay.

Now let us see what was the real position of Bombay in February 1665. We have already learnt that from 1534 to 1563, Bombay was known as a mere island, without any dependency of its own. Some years before 1563, it had been leased in emphyteusis to Garcia da Orta. We have also seen that in February 1571, when "the village of Mazagon which is in the island of Máhim, country of Bassein," was let to be held by Letters Patent granted to Lionel de Souza by the tenure of emphyteusis for ever (*da dita aldea em fatiota para sempre*), with the same quit-rent (*foro*) that his father-in-law, Antonio Pessoa, paid before him, Bombay was not even mentioned as the *caçabé* (*kasbá*), the principal place of a district. That rank had thereto been assigned to Máhim. It is only in 1634 that Antonio Bocarro in his *Livro das plantas*, etc. (*Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. III., p. 259), refers to Bombaim as a *cassabé*, or rather to the houses of the *Vazadar ou senhorio do cassabé*, which he explains to mean the same as a small town or village (*que he o mesmo que povoação ou aldea de Mombaim*). Thus as late as 1634, Bombay had no dependencies of any kind, and, as Bocarro adds, it was small and scattered, having eleven Portuguese families. (*Esta povoação de Mombaim he couza pequena, espalhada, tem onze portuguezes cazados*).

In 1665 the whole island of Bombay belonged to D. Ignez de Castro, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto, known by the name of "Senhora da Ilha," 'the Lady of the Island,' who possessed then the Large House, and was the sole proprietress of the *caçabé* of Bombay, with its cocoanut gardens, rice-fields and the duty of *bandrastal*, which was a tax on the right to distil spirit from the palm juice.

When at the instigation, as Orme supposes, of the Portuguese gentry of the island, among whom the lands of the island were divided, the Viceroy refused to cede the island, and wrote to the King on the 28th of December 1662 the letter we have seen above, giving his reasons for not handing over Bombay to the English, the King, D. Affonso VI., replied on the 8th of February 1664, thus:—"To the inhabitants of the place you must say that they have misunderstood the article of capitulations shown them, as their estates (*fazendas*) will not be confiscated,

but they will be allowed to remain in possession of them as heretofore." This is then the only correct interpretation of the treaty regarding the land tenure. It was the island of Bombay alone that was ceded, the inhabitants being assured by the King of Portugal that they would be allowed to remain in possession of their estates as heretofore. The sovereignty of the island only was made over to the British Crown, with the conditions embodied in the treaty of 21 articles of the 23rd of June 1661, a treaty that was known, moreover, as the Treaty of Peace between England and Portugal, and of the marriage of King Charles II. with the Infanta D. Catharina, under which treaty the island of Bombay was ceded to King Charles II. as part of the dowry of the Infanta. But instead of peace there followed, as we shall see presently, a prolonged strife.

When Humphrey Cooke asked where the islands of Mazagão, Parella, Varli, Mahim, Sião, Daravi and Vadala were situated, Sebastião Migos, as he states in his letter of the 28th of February 1665, could only point out to Mazagão, Parella and Varli, because the others belonged to Máhim, and even these three villages were once independent of Bombay, as is evident from the Royal Charter of the manor of Mazagon and of the separate leases or *aforamentos* of the villages of Parel and Varlí in the *Tombo* of Simão Botelho. But all the six villages were at last taken possession of by the British Crown. Ignacio Sarmento de Sampaio protested strongly against this usurpation, but all in vain. *See* Conde de Fialho's *Garcia da Orta*, etc., p. 275, *et seq.* Also Rivara's *Heranças e Partilhas dos moradores Portuguezes de Bombaim*, in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I., pp. 101, *et seq.*

A cession, begun under such inauspicious circumstances, could hardly have a good result. And the end of the Viceroyalty of Antonio de Mello de Castro was signalised by the following letter, full of bitterness, to the King. He writes on the 5th of January 1666, about eleven months after the cession, as follows :—"During the last monsoon I informed your Majesty that I had handed over Bombay. Now I will relate to your Majesty what the English have done, and are doing every day in the way of excesses. The first act of Mr. Humphrey, who is the Governor of that island, and whom I knew in Lisbon as a grocer, was to take possession of the island of Máhim in spite of my protests, the island being some distance from the island of Bombay, as your Majesty will see from the map which I send herewith. He argues that at low tide one can

walk from one to the other, and if this is conceded your Majesty will be unable to defend the right to the other northern islands, as at low tide it is possible to go from Bombay to Sálsette, from Sálsette to Varagão, (Bárágaon, twelve villages, a name still in use as a salt revenue sub-division of Karanja island), so that, in order not to lose the north, it will be necessary to defend Máhim. He has done more. He has obliged the Roman Catholics to take an oath, by which they openly deny the jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff and Head of the Church. The inhabitants of the north would have taken up arms and driven out the English from thence if I had not had my suspicions and prevented them, by assuring them that your Majesty was actually in treaty about the purchase of Bombay. And, although the name of Humphrey Cooke appears in all these matters, an awful heretic named Henry Gay, a great enemy of the Portuguese nation, is the author of all these things. I believe, however, that before your Majesty remedies this the Dutch will drive those people from thence, as I am told they are preparing a large armada to besiege Bombay.* Humphrey Cooke's replies to me have been full of boasting and bravado, but now they are humble and he asks for help. The State of India is not in a position to help any one, and were it so it would mean assisting the English against the Dutch, and, as an infallible consequence, your Majesty would lose everything in India. I have therefore ordered the north to be put in a state of defence before the Dutch arrive, and then to act as a friend of both parties. I repeat to your Majesty that it will be impossible to keep the little we have in India unless a great effort on the part of Portugal and England is made. This would have a great effect on the Dutch, who are sick and tired of everything." See *Tratados*, Vol. III., p. 94, also January *Report*, *ut supra*, pp. 67-68, and "*The Portuguese in India*," Vol. II., pp. 355-357.

While Humphrey Cooke was thus indisposed with the Portuguese Viceroy, on the one hand, the English Government were, on the other, highly dissatisfied with Cooke's measures. He was in fact between the devil and the deep sea. It is said that political events which had occurred in Europe about this time had led the Government to protest against Cooke's proceedings. Cooke, in communicating the various measures which had been adopted by him, had

* And there was indeed at that time a fear of the Dutch invading Bombay, as we shall see further on.

fully and faithfully informed his employers of the condition of the island, its bulwarks, its resources, its probable revenue, etc.

Three years after the above quoted letter, the King wrote another letter to the Viceroy, on the 26th of March 1669, informing him of a representation His Majesty had received from the Council of the Holy Office, complaining of the English allowing every one to live as he liked on the island of Bombay, but not permitting their work as they saw fit. But of this more hereafter.

Notwithstanding all this extraordinary zeal, Cooke's conduct and settlement found little favour both in Surat and in England. It is said that Charles II., on hearing of Cooke's treaty or convention, which was disowned by his Government, wrote to the Viceroy of Goa, on the 10th of March 1677, that it was his intention shortly to elucidate and explain the eleventh article of the marriage treaty conjointly with his brother, the Most Serene Prince of Portugal, "by whose justice we doubt not our sovereign rights in the Port and Islnad of Bombay and their Dependencies will be vindicated from that very unjust capitulation which Humphrey Cooke was forced to submit to at the time when that place was first transferred to our possession, which capitulation neither he, Humphrey, was empowered to come into, nor any one else to impose upon him, in contravention to a compact framed in so solemn and religious a manner. We therefore are determined to protest against the said capitulation as prejudicial to our Royal dignity, and derogatory to our right, which we hold in the higher estimation for coming to us in part of the dowry with our aforesaid consort. . . . . Given at our palace of Whitehall, the 10th day of March 1676—7. To the Most I. and Most E. Lord Luiz de Mendonça Furtado, Count of Lavradio, etc." *Selections*, Vol. II., pp. 379-381.

It is strange, however, that a convention that was signed by H. Cooke in 1665, should have taken twelve years to be repudiated by the King. This letter has been partly published in Portuguese in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, Vol. I., pp. 105-106, and the whole in English is found in the *Selections* quoted above, wherein the King further informs the Viceroy that he had forbidden his subjects to submit to pay the tribute at Thána and Karanja.

The Viceroy Luiz de Mendonça Furtado held the reins of the Government from the 22nd of May 1671 to the 30th of October 1677, but when the letter from Charles II. reached India he had already left for Lisbon. The answer was therefore sent by his

successor, D. Pedro de Almeida, whose rule was very brief, from the 30th of October 1677 to the 24th of January 1678. D. Pedro de Almeida replied to Charles II. on the 11th of November 1677 thus :—"The Count de Lavradio, whom I have just succeeded as Viceroy, has handed me the letter your Majesty was pleased to address to him regarding the question of the Mandovis of Karanja and Thána. The Moors give the name of 'Mandovis' to what we call Custom Houses. Karanja was always the Custom House of the whole *terra firma*, and Thána of the part of Kalliana and Bewnd *terra firma* of the Moors, and Bombay of the district where everyone pays taxes in the form of the ancient 'foros' of the time of the Moorish dominion; and as the vassals of the Prince, my master, are not exempt from the payment of duties in Bombay, it does not seem right that the vassals of your Majesty should be exempt from paying duties in my Prince's dominions. As regards the 'passes' we issue them to the Moors and Natives in the usual form." *Tratados*, T. III., pp. 137 and 148. Also *Report, ut supra*, p. 72.

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the house of Bragança. Dom Pedro had locked up King Affonso VI. in a portion of the palace, and assumed the Regency on the 23rd of November, 1667. The Regent then hurried on the negotiations for a peace with Spain, and at last ascended the throne as Pedro II. in 1683. Although all the complaints and remonstrances about Bombay were addressed to the Regent of Portugal, no order ever came from him during this period to redress the grievances of any of the parties. The Portuguese continued, to the end of their rule in Bassein and its dependencies, except Bombay, to act in conformity with the articles of Mr. Cooke's convention, until the capture of Bassein by the Maráthas put an end to all bickerings between the two neighbouring nations, both of them, moreover, Europeans and Christians.

But previous to this, Sir George Oxenden had discovered that the Moghal Government had become jealous of the English possessing the island, and forming a garrison on it in the immediate vicinity of Surat. The jealousy of that Government was heightened by H. Cooke inviting native merchants to settle in Bombay. This measure convinced the Moghal Governor of Surat that the whole scheme had for its object the transfer of the President and Council from Surat to Bombay. Under these circumstances the President and Council of Surat in January 1666 recommended the Court of Directors to solicit the King's permission to build a Factory at

Bombay. That there was a half-concealed desire to hand over Bombay to the Company from the first is evident from the intention ascribed to the Earl of Marlborough that, "previous to his departure, he had offered to make over Bombay to the President and Council of Surat; but as their title would not be good without the sanction of royal authority, and even if it were good, they had not the means of enforcing it, this offer was declined." Anderson's "*English in Western India*," p. 53.

On the other side, there was now rekindled, in all its fury against the English, the traditional rivalry of the Dutch, who had forgotten all about the former civilities exchanged between the old allies of 1626, for the surprise and capture of Bombay. The Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, a short time before leaving India, had ventured to predict the enmity between the Dutch and the English, and had said in his last letter to the King of Portugal, of the 5th of January 1666, that "the Dutch will drive those people from thence," and on the 2nd of April of the same year the President and Council at Surat were writing to "Lieutenant-Governor" Cooke that nine Dutch ships of considerable burden were at that port, and that it was credibly reported that the Dutch General Rickloffe van Goens was coming with a great force shortly; his object could not be ascertained, but it was feared that an assault on Bombay was intended. Cooke replied on the 8th, stating that he was quite unprepared to meet such an assault, and that, should the island be lost, the blame would rest on them for refusing to supply him with money, to hire soldiers and to buy provisions. He mentioned that ever since the preceding December, when he first heard the rumour of the Dutch designs, he had had forty "Portugals of Europe" in pay, in addition to his own men. On the 17th, the President and Council wrote again, that they had heard from the Dutch "over a glass of wine," that Rickloffe's coming had been put off "by reason of the lateness of the year," and that on the 15th, six Dutch ships had left for Batavia, and so their fears of an assault on Bombay were at an end." *Report, etc.*, p. 68. The fact is that in the year 1663 the English at Surat and in the Indian Archipelago had been much harassed by the Dutch. Pepys says in 1663-64 that there was great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves, in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffic there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation, which made the British merchants mad. See Birdwood's *Report*, etc. p. 220.

The year 1666 marks a memorable epoch in the annals of

Bombay, when Sir Gervase Lucas, whom Orme calls Samuel, became Governor of Bombay. Sir Gervase had been well known in the Civil War of England. A staunch royalist, he had adhered to Charles the First's cause amidst its reverses, and when Governor of Belvoir Castle had, with a body of troops, escorted the King in his escape from the fatal field of Naseby. Sir Gervase Lucas, on his appointment by His Majesty in Council, had solicited troops, artificers, and eighteen months' stores and provisions to accompany him. A concession was made to his wishes, but not to the extent he desired. He embarked for Bombay on board the ship "*Return*," with a letter of credit for £ 1,500 on the Presidency of Surat. He arrived in Bombay on the 5th of November, 1666.

As for Cooke, besides his political failure, he was charged with fraud and embezzlement. Sir Gervase threw him into prison, for extortion in the management of Sir A. Shipman's estate and peculation of the King's revenues, to the extent of 12,000 xerafins. But Cooke escaped to Goa, and there, with the assistance of the Jesuits, organised a levy for the capture of Bombay; but he was, on being frustrated in his attempt, proclaimed a traitor in 1668. Birdwood's *Report*, *ut supra* p. 221. Also *Monthly Miscellany*, p. 104 and *Materials, etc.*, Part I, p. 23.

Sir Gervase Lucas, upon his appointment to the Government of Bombay, was offered by the Crown, as pay and emolument to maintaining his position, £2 a day, besides the credit just referred to, of £1,500 on the Presidency of Surat, for which he was to grant bills on England at 30 days' sight. Unhappily, a misunderstanding sprang up between him and Sir George Oxenden, the President of Surat, but a reconciliation took place before the death of Sir Gervase Lucas, which occurred on the 21st of May 1667.

Henry Gary, who had been appointed Deputy Governor, now succeeded as Governor. Hamilton (author of the *East India Gazetteer*) calls him "an old Greek;" but according to Anderson (*Op. cit.* p. 154) he had been born in Venice of English parents. He was more merchant than soldier, and had gained some learning, being well acquainted with Latin, Greek and Portuguese. He was even said to have been engaged in writing a treatise in Arabic, which he dedicated to the Viceroy of Goa. But this cannot be true, judging from the letter the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro, wrote about him to the King on the 5th of January 1666, saying that "an awful heretic named Henry Gary was a great enemy of the Portuguese

nation." Nor were his successors more favourable to him as we shall see further on.

Three years after the date of this letter, the King of Portugal wrote on the 26th of March 1669 to the Viceroy, then represented by a commission consisting of Antonio de Mello de Castro, Luiz de Miranda Henriques and Manuel Corte—Real de Sampaio, on the death of the Count of S. Vicente. He informed them that he had received a representation of the Council of the Holy Office, that the British in the Island of Bombay allowed every one to live as he liked, but did not permit the Holy Office to carry on their work as they saw fit, by reason of which certain offenders against the faith remained unpunished. His Majesty thought that this unequal treatment was contrary to the capitulations agreed upon for the transfer of Bombay. The Council of the Holy Office had sent their protest through their commissary of Bassein to the Bombay Government. In conclusion, the King desired that the orders of the Holy Office should be kept, and he commanded the Viceroy or his representatives to make the necessary reclamation to the British Government in Bombay, in order that the said capitulations, as agreed upon for the transfer of Bombay, might be completely carried out.

The three gentlemen, who on the death of the Viceroy, Count of S. Vicente, were acting until the arrival of the new Viceroy, replied to the King on the 24th of January 1670, that they had written to the Governor of Bombay, but had received no reply as yet, "and do not expect one soon, considering that Henry Gary is now governing the place." *Tratados* III., p. 114. *Report, ut supra*, p. 69.

In another letter of the 25th of January 1670, they write :—

"Henry Gary, Governor of the Island of Bombay, is very astute, and an enemy of the Portuguese nation. He wishes that his vessels should be exempted from dues at our ports, and now asks us to pay dues on a frigate which came from Mombassa, and went *viâ* Bombay and discharged at Turumba (Trombay), a village in the jurisdiction of Baçaim ; we are considering the matter with due care, and we think that if these events as well as others had been foreseen, this island would never have been handed over to the English." *Ibid.* III., p. 118. *Report*, p. 69.

That Captain Gary, the new Governor of Bombay, was at variance with the authorities at Bassein is evident from what Anderson says : "Yet is he described as a proud, wasteful and extravagant officer. His power was not undisputed. The Portuguese had in the time

of his predecessor threatened a resort to arms, because a claim which the Jesuits' College of Bandora made for a considerable tract of land had not been allowed. This threat Sir Gervase Lucas had considered an act of treason, and declared all the Jesuits' lands forfeited to the Crown. Cooke, therefore, who had yielded the reins of Government with reluctance, and retired in discontent to Goa, took this opportunity of asserting his right to succeed Lucas. Coming to Bandora he threatened to join the Portuguese in attacking Bombay. But his countrymen only treated him with contempt, and dismissed him as a rebel and traitor." *Op. cit.* pp. 54-55.

A short time after Sir Gervase Lucas's death in May 1667, Henry Gary, who is said to have proceeded on the same plan as his predecessor, sent to the King and the Secretary of State the following statement of the revenues of the island, as improved by Sir G. Lucas and himself:—

Rent of	Xerafins.
Mazagon	9,300-0-40
Máhim	4,797-2-45
Parel	2,377-1-56
Vadala	1,738-0-40
Varlí	571-1-34
Bombay	6,344-2-61
	25,920-1-18

Besides the above land rent, there was the rent derived from tobacco farms, taverns, customs, etc. 13 xerafins being equivalent to 22*s.* 6*d.* Sir Gervase had been making every effort to increase the King's revenues, and had said that the island, when properly cultivated, and the right of the inhabitants legally possessed of titles to their estates ascertained, it would be very productive. And Gary's plan was also to improve the revenues without imposing any discouraging taxes. See Warden's *Report*, etc., pp. 6-8.

During Mr. Gary's government the relations between Bombay and Surat were far from cordial, one of the chief points in dispute being the granting of passes to native ships. This friction and rivalry resulted in the offer of the East India Company to take over Bombay, and in the decision of the King to approve the transfer. In a work, which I believe to be rare, entitled "*An Historical Account of the settlement and possession of Bombay*, etc.," published in London in 1781, it is said that "The officers and men sent in those ships (of

the royal fleet) drove a private trade, which impaired that of the Company; and their licentiousness often engaged them in hostilities with the natives, for which the Company was answerable to the powers of that country. These real evils, and the advantage to be reaped from the possession of the island and bay, made the Company desire it; they, therefore, requested and the King readily granted them; from that time they have had the absolute dominion." p. 5.

Thus Charles II., by the charter of the 27th of March 1668, which specifies that the Port and Island of Bombay were to be held by the Company, "as of the Manor of East Greenwich" in free and common socage, at a farm rent of 10*l.*, payable on the 30th of September each year, transferred the island to the Company.

On the first of September 1668, the ship "Constantinople Merchant" arrived at Surat, bringing the copy of the Royal Charter and a warrant from the King to Sir Gervase Lucas, bestowing Bombay upon the Honourable Company, "as the adventurers," says Anderson, "had for some time been styled." Two days later, at a consultation held at Surat under the presidency of Sir George Oxenden, it was resolved to depute Mr. John Goodier (second in Council), Captain Henry Young, and Streynsham Masters for this duty. These gentlemen embarked accordingly on the "Constantinople Merchant," and reached their destination on the evening of the 21st of September, when Captain Young and Mr. Cotes were at once sent on shore with the King's letter. The next day was spent in preparation for the ceremony of transfer, and on Wednesday, the 23rd, the Commissioners landed, and solemnly took over charge from the officiating Governor, Captain Henry Gary. The island thus became *de facto* the property of the Company from that date, the formal grant having been signed on the 27th of the preceding March, as said above. Sir George Oxenden, President at Surat, then became Governor of Bombay, and the full sovereignty of the island which had been acquired by Charles II. from the King of Portugal was granted to the Company, expressly purporting to provide for legislation and administration of justice in accordance with the law of England, and by reference incorporating in the letters patent all jurisdiction, etc., mentioned in the Charter of the 3rd of April 1661, and reciting also the treaty of the 23rd of June 1661. See *Selections*, etc., Vol. I., pp. 224, *et seq.*

Thus within less than a century and a half the island of Bombay had undergone three successive transfers. First, on the 23rd of December 1534, from the Mahomedan kings of Gujarát to the Portuguese; then,

by the cession of the 23rd of June 1661, and delivery of the 18th of February 1665, from the Portuguese to the British Crown; and lastly from the British Crown, on the 23rd of September 1668, to the East India Company, first incorporated by Queen Elizabeth on the 31st of December 1600, under the title of "Governor and Company of the Merchants of London into the East Indies." It will be seen from the statements above that the date 23rd is singularly recurrent in the events connected with Bombay. As a matter of comparison it may be worth while to mention here that the Portuguese, who put their Eastern trade into the hands of an incorporated Company, had in 1731 obtained permission from the King to make one ship's voyage annually to Surat. Except in this instance, the monopoly of the East India trade was always vested in the Crown, until it was abolished in 1752, various important articles being still subject to royal privileges. The Dutch E. I. Co. was instituted in 1602 after Houtman's voyage in 1596-97. The French had six Companies in 1604, 1611, 1615, 1643, 1644 and 1719. These were abolished in 1790. The Danish had two, in 1612 and 1670.

Two more changes has Bombay witnessed since then in our own time. First, the transfer from the Company to the Crown in 1858, and then its transformation from a Royal into an Imperial city in 1877, when the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland was declared to be the Empress of India. During the Portuguese period Bombay had no Governor of its own, because it was then an unimportant island dependency of the city of Bassein where there was a regular series of Governors or Captains, as will be seen from the list given in my "History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein." But as there was from the beginning a fort in Bombay its garrison must have always had its Commandants for nearly a hundred and thirty years, but their names have not been transmitted to posterity.

The list of the British Royal Governors of Bombay is as follows :—

1662. Sir Abraham Shipman was appointed in March, but never governed. He died at Angediva on the 5th of April 1664, the date of his will, others say in September.

1665. Humphrey Cooke, who was Secretary to Sir Abraham Shipman, assumed the government in February, but was soon ejected by his successor.

1666. Sir Gervase Lucas, arrived on the 5th of November. He died suddenly at Bombay on the 21st of May 1667.

1667. Captain Henry Gary, on the death of his predecessor officiat-

ed from the 25th of May until the 23rd of September 1668. He then obtained a seat in the Council, and was afterwards Judge of the Island.

In reference to these four Governors of Bombay, the writer of the *Monthly Miscellany* says:—"Of the royal *corps*, Sir Abraham Shipman, disappointed in his object, died at Anjideva. Cook (Humphrey Cooke) killed himself from mere vexation of spirit in his self-exile, among the cowled brethren of the Order of Jesus (the Jesuits never wore cowls) at Salset. Sir Gervase Lucas did not long enjoy his Government, from his sudden death. Gary, who held 'the reins of dominion' upon this casualty, subsequently delivered the island to the East India Company: in announcing this transfer to the Secretaries of State—Lord Arlington and Sir Joseph Williamson—he remarks "that though this unexpected change had much troubled him he hoped that they would make the Governor and Committees of the East India Company sensible of his fidelity, and that he was deserving of remuneration." Gary was afterwards a Member of the Bombay Council and then Judge of the island; but he was roundly abused by the foes of Sir John Child for supporting him." p. 79.

As a picture of the manners of the time the writer adds "the treaty of Breda, concluded between England and Holland in 1667, was the occasion of annoyance to the East India Company, and to pacify this feeling, rather than actuated by any other motive, Charles the Second, by letters patent dated 27th March 1668, conferred upon the Company and in perpetuity, the port and island of Bombay . . . . in payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold, on the 30th September in each year." To the above is added this footnote:—"Even in this measure the spirit of sarcasm or ribaldry has been permitted to wing its shaft;—"to gratify the demand of the Duchess of Portland the island was made over for a round sum in ready money and a small annual payment." Fryer assigns a ludicrous motive for the transfer: *the pomp and expenses maintained by Gary!*" *Ibid.* p. 105.

Along with the island, all the stores, arms and ammunition kept there were also handed over to the Company, together with such political powers as were necessary for its defence and government.

Sir G. Oxenden, President of Surat and 5th Governor (1st Company's) of Bombay, was the son of Sir Jas. Oxenden one of the members of the Company. When Sivaji looted Surat in 1664, he and his nephew Streynsham Master defended the Company's Factory. Surat was a Presidency of the East India Company from 1612 to 1678; and again from 1681 to 1687, when the Presidency of

Western India was finally transferred to Bombay. Between 1629 and 1635 it was the chief seat of Government of the Company's Eastern possessions.

Sir George Oxenden held a consultation on the 3rd of September 1668, at which they agreed to assume at once the Government of Bombay. They felt, however, that this would be an affair of some delicacy, as the royal officers might not be disposed to acknowledge the supremacy of a few mercantile agents. They chose to proceed with caution, and deputed four officers from Surat under Mr. John Goodier, who was intimate with the Deputy Governor Gary, and was able to conduce to the peaceful surrender and quiet possession of the place. The Commissioners reached Bombay on the 21st of September 1668, landed on Wednesday, the 23rd, and, being received with military honours, took possession of the island in the name of the Company. The garrison then appears to have consisted of only 285 men, composed principally of French, Portuguese and Natives, only 93 being English officers. Of the first, one Thos. du Plessis was allowed to return to Europe. Ramsimar (Ráma Sinay or Shenvi), who was a clerk (*escrivão*) employed by the Portuguese, being necessary from his knowledge of the island, was kept in the employment of the British. The subject of the claims of the Portuguese inhabitants to lands was discussed, and the Court ordered that it should be ascertained whether the lands belonged to the Crown of Portugal. "The inhabitants were to be allowed a moderate toleration; but the claims of the Jesuits, though admissible by the Portuguese usages, were not to be held valid in an English settlement." See *Materials*, etc., Part I., pp. 35-36.

The next year the President followed his officers to Bombay, and arrived there on the 5th of January 1669. His stay was brief, but during that short time he framed a set of regulations arranging and completing codes for the civil and military administration of the island. Before leaving Bombay in February 1670, the Governor decided to make use of a Portuguese resident on the island, Simão Serrão, well read in the civil and imperial laws, as ably qualified to do the Company effectual service in discovering their just rights and privileges. *Ibid.* p. 39. But Sir G. Oxenden died soon after at Surat, and "the island was left in a state of anarchy." (Anderson's *English in Western India*, etc., p. 56.) "Patriarchal, simply as the first of the Company's race of Governors, is that Sir George Oxenden, whose virtues known and felt during his life-time, and mausoleum

at Surat—the scene of his demise—still celebrates by force of the sculptor's chisel independent of the style of the historian." *Monthly Miscellany*, p. 79.

On the death of Sir George Oxenden on the 14th of July 1669, Gerald Aungier, "that chivalric, intrepid man who dared a not less potent spirit in the Dutch Commodore Van Goen," was appointed President of Surat, and Mr. Mathew Gray was nominated to the Deputy Governorship of Bombay. He was succeeded by Mr. Philip Gyfford, and on his death by Mr. Henry Oxenden. He died soon after, being succeeded, according to Anderson (*Op. cit.* p. 56), by Mr. Ward whose term of office ended in trouble and sedition. According to the *Materials*, Part I., p. 78 on the decease of Gerald Aungier Mr. John Petit was appointed to manage the affairs on the island and Mr. Rolt was confirmed President in his room.

This is a very short summary of the history of the first decade of the Company's Government of Bombay. But the details, which would occupy a volume, are highly interesting. I shall attempt to condense, within as narrow a compass as possible, the most important events that laid the foundation of the capital of Western India, for they had a momentous effect on the future of Bombay.

In the year 1668 the survivors of the King's (Charles II.) soldiers sent out with Sir Abraham Shipman to garrison Bombay, on the transfer of the island to the Company had volunteered into their service, and had become the *cadre* of the Honourable Company's "1st European Regiment" or "Bombay Fusiliers," afterwards the 103rd Foot.

The year 1671 is notable for the laying of the foundations of the two most important institutions of Bombay, *viz.*, the Dockyard and the Mint. The Company ordered the building of two brigantines at Bombay, and this was the beginning of the famous Government Dockyard in the Fort, which has been succeeded in our own time by the splendid Dock on the eastern foreshore of the island.

By the King's Letters Patent, dated the 5th of October 1677, the Bombay Government was authorised to coin "Rupees, Pices and Budgrooks." Sir G. Birdwood in his *Report*, etc., p. 222, derives Rupee from *rupya*, silver 'stamped,' *i. e.*, 'coined,' from *rupa*, 'form,' and Budgrook from *badagaruka* 'base coin,' $\frac{1}{12}$th of an *anna*, and identical, therefore, with the present *pai*. But more correct derivations than these will be found in my "*Contributions to the Study of the Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*." No attempt to

explain the derivation of the *pice* (*i. e., paisa*, $\frac{1}{4}$th of an anna, or $\frac{1}{64}$th of a rupee) appears as yet to have been made. Can it be traced to the ancient Hindu *Karsha*?

A contemporary traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who made several trips in India between 1640 and 1667, writing in 1678 of "the money which the English and Hollanders coin in the Indies," says:—

"Formerly the English never coined any silver or copper money; for . . . . they find it more profitable to carry gold from England than silver . . . . But since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous Port of *Bombeye*, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong Fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin. But that money will not go to Surat, nor in any part of the Great Mogul's Dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian Kings; only it passes among the English in their Fort, and some two or three leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast; the country people that bring them their wares, being glad to take that money; otherwise they would see but very little stirring, in regard the country is very poor, and the people have nothing to sell but *Aqua vitæ*, made of coco-wine and rice." *The Six Travels of John Baptista Tavernier, Baron Auboune*, etc., London, 1678, Part II., pp. 5-6.

Besides Tavernier, there are several other travellers who, in the course of the seventeenth century, refer to Bombay, their allusions, owing to the insignificance of the place in those days, being very brief. Thus Albert de Mandelslo in 1639 alludes to Bombay as follows:—"Le 9.e Janvier, nous passâmes avec un bon vent de Nord, devant les îles de Bandora et de Bombay, qui s' étendent le long de la côte depuis Baçaim jusqu' au dessus de Rasiapur. Celle de Bombay est assès grande, et a un fort bon havre du côté de la terre ferme." *Les Voyages*, etc. Leide, 1719, p. 233.

Then Jean de Thevenot, who travelled in the East from 1655 to 1663, writes:—"De Baçaim à Bombaim il y a six lieues: Cette dernière ville a un bon Port, et c'est celle que les Portugais ont cedée aux Anglais, en faisant le mariage de l'Infante de Portugal avec le Roi d'Angleterre en l' année 1662. Il y a six lieues de Bombaim à Chaul." *Les Voyages*, etc., Amsterdam 1727, Tome V., p. 248.

Philip Baldous, about 1660, also gives a brief description of

Bombay. His *Account of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel* is invaluable for the information it gives of the early days of the Dutch in the East and their struggles with the Portuguese.

The famous French physician M. Dellon, who spent twenty days in Bombay in January 1673, relates in his *Voyage to the East Indies*, Lond., 1698, pp. 180-181, the occurrences he witnessed as he was going from Persia to Surat. He was "continually pestered with contrary winds;" but after the wind blew a favourable gale from the north-east, he came on the 10th of January 1673, within sight of the shore near Bassein, and on the 12th he landed at Bombay which he describes as follows:—"Just at the entrance of the port of Bombay, there lies a rock which, stretching a mile deep into the sea, makes this passage very dangerous, for which reason we sent for some pilots who conducted us very safely on the 12th into that harbour, which is one of the safest in the world, provided you are well acquainted with the situation of the place to avoid the rocks.

"It was not many years ago in the possession of the Portuguese, who surrendered it to the English at the time of the marriage betwixt the King of England with the Infanta of Portugal.

The English have since that time built there a very fine Fort, where the President of the East India Company commonly keeps residence. "They have also laid the foundation of a City, where they grant liberty to all strangers of what religion or nation soever to settle themselves, and exempt them from all manner of taxes for the first twenty years. We were treated here with abundance of civility, which we in part attributed to the good understanding there was at that time betwixt those two nations." M. Dellon left Bombay on the 30th of January 1673, and arrived at Surat two days after. *Cf.*—My memoir entitled, "*M. Dellon and the Inquisition of Goa*" in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII., pp. 53, *et seq.*

But of all the travellers who refer to Bombay in the sixteenth century, the most copious and not the least accurate, in spite of his fanciful etymologies, is doubtless, Dr. John Fryer, whom I have quoted often above. He was a Surgeon to the East India Company, and an enterprising and observant traveller. He visited Bombay in 1675, and his *New Account of East India and Persia* was published in London in 1698. It is a delightful book, giving graphic descriptions of the factory life and general condition of India in his time. On his arrival in India he wrote to the President to be appointed Surgeon to

the Surat Factory, but without success. He appears to have come out on board the ship "Unity" with the fleet that sailed in 1672. This fleet was composed of ten vessels, all commissioned as men of war, the English being at that time "at open defiance against the Dutch."

Dr. Fryer sailed from Karwar northwards to Bombay, noticing all the ports along the coast, such as Rajapur, which had then only a French Factory, although it was formerly the seat of an English factory, and Chaul "the Portuguese Fortress lying fair in sight and then Bombaim opening itself." He records his arrival thus:—"The tide being spent we came to an anchor in the Bay, not having our bearings right, and December the 8th we paid our homage to the Union flag flying on the Fort of Bombaim." He describes the Bombay harbour as "a vast indented circumference which is able to contain a thousand of the vast ships in Europe in safe harbour from wind and weather." As he sailed up the harbour, he met with two Moghal men-of-war of 300 tons each, riding before the island of Karanja. Close to the Castle he saw, besides, innumerable little vessels, three men-of-war, one of them, of 220 tons, having been captured from the Dutch. The Castle was built at the end of the Bay, commanding it from all points and flanks.

On Dr. Fryer setting his foot on the island, he was received by the Governor, Gerald Aungier. He describes the group of islands as follows:—"In the East Indies is one of the islands of Salset, parted from that part of the Canarik Coast which lies nearest Duccan, 60 leagues north of Goa, and as many south of Surat. These islands are in number seven, viz.:—Bombaim, Canorein, Trumbay, Elephanto, the Putachoes, Munchumbae, and Keranjan, with the rock of Henry Kenry, arising as so many mountains out of the sea."

But Dr. Fryer does not confine himself to the mere description of the physical features of the Bombay group of islets. He enters into historical, mythological, medical, anthropological inquiries about them. Thus after mentioning the seven islands arising as so many mountains out of the sea, he adds:—"Which accords to the fancy of the natives, who affirm that Nereus has lost these islets, with a geat deal more of the low lands, from his trident, the earth gaining upon the sea. And as a remonstrance of their credulity, they bring for proof the vast rocks that are many miles up the country, bestuck with oyster-shells and other trophies of the sea's having had once dominion there, all which they call Conchon, or the Netherlands." *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62. This is simply his own version of the Puránic

legend of Parus'uráma's creation of the Konkan. He is, however, very weak in his etymologies, and the following derivations, for instance, are rather amusing:—"Bombaim, quasi Boon Bay . . . . general name of Salset, if it be worth inquiry, I can only guess, either because it signifies in Canorein a granary. . . . or else analogically, from the fruitful peninsula of the same name, near which Goa itself stands: but whether this is certain or not, the reason of the denomination of Bombaim is convincing."

Dr. Fryer also refers to the cession of the island of Bombay to the British Crown as "a matter of great import to the Kingdom, had it been transferred according to the contract, as well in regard to the protection of our ships, as for the profit of the soil to the English inhabitants; but most of all for the awe it might impose upon them who are the disturbers of our trade here." He then explains the reasons which induced the Portuguese Viceroy to base his policy of refusal to surrender the island to the English. The Portuguese, he says, "were loth to part with the island, because different interests were prevailing at the time in Europe and in India, notwithstanding the King of England having sent a fleet of five royal ships, under the command of Lord Marlborough, which had to retreat to the port of Sually." Then he adds, the commander "set the soldiers on shore (himself not stirring out of the ship), five hundred stout men led by Sir Abraham Shipman, who was designated Generalissimo for the King of England on the Indian shore." But the President of the English Factory at Surat, Sir George Oxenden, observing that the jealousy of the Moors was such that "they vowed the Factory a sacrifice," they left Sually for Angediva, "a barren, unhealthy, and uninhabited island, not far from the Main, and but 12 leagues to the southward of Goa." *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Elsewhere Dr. Fryer writes:—"In the meanwhile Sir Abraham, with near 300 his best men, rested content without any further acquisitions, leaving their bones at Angediva, poisoned partly by the noisomeness of the air, the violence of the rains, and the little defence against them, but chiefly their own intemperance." *Ibid.*, p. 58.

And he concludes thus:—"So much of which at least they were brought to grant, as enforced them to deliver up Bombaim, though they capitulated for that too, parcelling it out into little islets, made only by the inundations of the sea. But they were glad at length, when they saw Malbery resolute, to resign the whole island, with the

Bay, into the hands of the English upon the conditions first assented to, that the royalties should belong to the King of England, but every particular man's estate to the right owner, and the liberty of their own ceremonies in religion, upon their oath of allegiance." *Ibid.*, p. 63. Then "Mr. Cooke, being next to Sir Abraham, took up his commission, who with those men that were left, was admitted upon Bombaim in the year 1664, when the Royal fleet returned." I need not refer here to his description of Bombay, which has, in short extracts, been already noticed above. But Dr. Fryer also writes upon the international policy of the island, on the European colonisation of Bombay, public health, climatology, the prevailing diseases of the island, their treatment, and of various drugs. I shall allude to some of these points as briefly as possible. With regard to the international relations of Bombay with the neighbouring nations, he writes:—"Our present concern then is with the Portuguese, Sivaji, and the Moghal. From the first is desired no more than a mutual friendship; from the second, an appearance only; from the last, a nearer commerce. The first and second become necessary for provisions for the belly and building; the third for the gross of our trade. Wherefore offices of civility must be performed to each of these; but they sometimes interfering are the occasion of jealousies; these three being so diametrically opposite one to another. For while the Moghal brings his fleet either to winter or to recruit in this Bay, Sivaji takes offence; on the other hand, the Moghal would soon put a stop to all business, should he be denied. The Portuguese, as in league with neither, thinks it a mean compliance in us to allow either of them countenance, especially to furnish them with guns and weapons to turn upon Christians, which they wisely make an Inquisition crime." *Ibid.*, p. 70.

Dr. Fryer then winds up his diplomatic reflections with the following forecast of the future of Bombay. "This much being premised," he writes, "for what concerns the island itself, it remains to speak of it with relation to the credit it bears among its neighbours. The Dutch cast an envious eye on it, and were it in their hands, would doubtless make it render all it is capable; and in respect of commerce it seems to offer many conveniences, the Banyahs liking it better than Surat, living freer, and under milder taxation, which they put the present President in some hopes of complying with, could he open the way from hence up the country; but that depending on

so many intricacies, must be not only a work of time, but power to bring to pass, as afterwards may fall more properly in our way to make appear." *Ut supra.*

Dr. Fryer was adverse to the system of the European colonisation of Bombay. "To propagate their colony," he says, "the Company have sent out English women; but they beget a sickly generation; and as the Dutch well observe, those thrive better that come of an European father and Indian mother; which (not to reflect on what creatures are sent abroad) may be attributed to their living at large, not debarring themselves wine and strong drink, which immoderately used, inflames the blood, and spoils the milk in these hot countries, as Aristotle long ago declared. The natives abhor all heady liquors, for which reason they prove better nurses." *Ibid.*, p. 69.

But by this time everybody knows that it is not wine and strong drink alone that spoil the milk in these hot countries and cause European women "to beget a sickly generation." The subject of the European colonisation of India is too wide a field of inquiry to be dealt with here. But as it has some connection with the history of Bombay, from almost the beginning of the 16th century, I need not apologize for entering into a few details regarding the scheme first brought into operation, about four hundred years ago, for the acclimatisation of the white man in the tropics. The little territory styled Portuguese India is still the best field for observing the various phases and factors in the evolution of that scheme. Strong drink, it appears, cannot be the sole cause of the moral and physical degeneracy of the race, as there is hardly a people on the face of the earth more sober than the inhabitants of Portugal.

While some physiologists consider the idea of the European colonisation in the tropics to be unnatural, every attempt at it being a reversal of the long and slow process of evolution which is marked by a deep dividing line between the inhabitants of the torrid and those of the temperate zones; others, who attribute the deterioration generally observed in the tropics not so much to the influence of the climate as to certain pathogenic germs, which can be gradually combated by improved sanitation, maintain the possibility, not only of the present acclimatisation, but also of the future welfare of the race. The fact that this dividing line between the inhabitants of the tropics and those of the temperate regions has not prevented the natives of the former, when transplanted to colder climes, from

thriving and prospering, clearly indicates which process is the natural one. This has been observed in the territory first colonised by the Portuguese, although the statistics are very scanty. The few instances known perhaps show that in them the success hitherto attained was due to the fact that the individuals were men of rare endowments, of high descent, culture, and noble traditions of character, which are extremely scarce.

There are, indeed, some serious arguments grounded on an abundance of decisive facts for the pessimism current on the question of the tropical acclimatisation of the white races. The attempt which D. João de Castro made in 1545-48 to colonise with his countrymen the Bombay group of islands was a deplorable failure long before the Maráthas drove them away.

It was then said that the Indian climate was fatal to worthy forms of life; that while lower animals flourished in this inhospitable region, man appeared under a degraded type, and that it was chimerical to suppose that the more advanced stock from a favourable region could be transplanted to this country without undergoing a physical and moral decay. Long before the time of the Portuguese, the Mahomedan invaders coming down from Northern Asia had also fallen into degeneracy. Colonisation is in reality a serious subject, a mighty social effort, whose laws and vital principles demand geographical, climatic and political conditions not easily procurable. It is the expression of the law of evolution constantly at work. Meteorological elements are not its only elements, there being a variety of other agencies, food and occupation not being the least important of them.

Another argument not less cogent for the disastrous results of this scheme of European colonisation was the union or intermarriage of the Portuguese with the Native women of the lower classes, peopling their settlements with a degenerate and debased race, the hybrid product of the two races, but possessing the good qualities of neither. Such a type of men was said to reflect the ill-fame of both their constitution and conduct on their birth-place, as a land forbidden for European homes:—

"—— *sub curru nimium propinqui*
Solis, in terrâ domibus negatâ."— Hor. *Od.*, *I.*, xxii, 21.

They forgot, however, that this very tropical position of India had once made it great, as Ovid expressed it in his graceful line—"*Primo sole nitens, primos tulit India flores.*" The progeny of some of the modern European races may yet perhaps be more fortunate

in the near future. It is said that the Latin races are military conquerors, while the Teutonic races are trading conquerors. The commercial nations, in respect of adaptability to varying conditions of race and climate, and in point of capacity to assimilate foreign elements, have certainly better opportunities for colonisation than the military ones. Although the colonial history of the Latin peoples is far greater than that of the Teutonic races, still the latter show at present at least more enterprise, and have secured more material results. As for superior aptitude, both the races have had their training for colonisation. Portugal and Spain received their education for colonial prowess in the school of wars against the Moors, Holland against Philip II. of Spain, and Great Britain was disciplined by her contests with Louis XIV. and with Napoleon for the leadership of the colonial empire. She possesses, moreover, a well-assorted mixture of races, a blend of many elements in complete fusion, or a crucible of races, producing a tempered steel of character, the diversity of races being supplemented by the islands themselves, presenting in a happy combination an equal variety of climate and production. To this fortunate circumstance, along with religious toleration, which is the outcome of her history and the expression of her genius, may be ascribed the durability and extent of her colonial empire. The Portuguese, like the French with the caprices and extravagances of Louis XIV, the jealousies of Dupleix and Labourdonnais, or the whimsical regulations of Richelieu, were, on the contrary, hampered in their progress by their religious exclusiveness. The British, like the Dutch, symbolised the triumph of the principle of religious freedom over intolerance, and, coming last in the struggle for colonial power, profited by the blunders of their predecessors, besides sharing the good fortune due to natural opportunities, geographical position, and ethnic and religious history.

Dr. Fryer then gives a nosological table of Bombay, the prevalent maladies being "fluxes, dropsy, scurvy, barbiers, which is enervating the whole body, being neither able to use the hands and feet, gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers, which are endemic diseases, etc." *Ibid.*, p. 68. He speaks of the high mortality of the English, and adds:—"Notwithstanding this mortality to the English, the country people and naturalized Portuguese live to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance; indulging themselves neither in strong drinks, nor devouring flesh as we do." *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Elsewhere he writes:—"The diseases reign according to the

seasons . . . . in the extreme heats, *cholera morbus*, inflammations of the eyes by dust and the fiery temper of air: in the rains, fluxes, apoplexy, and all distempers of the brain, as well as stomach; to correct which the natives eat *hing*,* a sort of liquid assafœtida whereby they smell odiously. For all lethargic fits they use garlic and ginger, given in oil or butter.

"To cup they use *ventosoes*†, without scarifications. They have good escharotics and vesicatories, made by a certain nut, the same they chop or mark their calicuts‡ black with instead of ink.

"They apply cauteries most unmercifully in a *mordisheen*, called so by the Portuguese, being a vomiting with a looseness; the like is done in a calenture§." *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

M. de Thevenot and Fr. Martin in the *Lettres Edifiantes* Tome IV. also refer to this treatment, the latter adding that the Venetian physician, Manucci, considered the cautery to be an infallible remedy. He took an iron-ring, heated it red in the fire and applied it to the navel of the patient, who after this barbarous treatment got well.

Mordisheen, as Fryer calls it, is not a Portuguese word, however. It is an Indian vernacular term, used in Konkani, Maráthi and Gujaráti. It is written in Maráthi thus:—मोडशी (*moḍśi*), and is derived from the verb मोडणें (*moḍnem*), which means "to break," in allusion to the intestinal griping or colic. Garcia da Orta was the first among the European physicians to introduce the word among the learned. In the *Colloquios* XVII. the word used by the natives of India is written *morxi*, which the Portuguese had changed into *mordexi*, probably in connection with the Portuguese verb *morder*, which means "to bite."

From *mordexi* the European writers changed the name into *mort de chien* and *mort de Chine*, and as late as 1854, Anderson, in his *English in Western India*, etc., p. 62, writes:—"The disease which was prevalent in the country and especially fatal in Bombay, was called by the Portuguese practitioners of medicine 'the Chinese death,' or colic."

Among the Indian drugs, Dr. Fryer mentions the celebrated

* Hing (हिंग), assafœtida, is indeed much used by the Baniás, as garlick by the peasants of Spain.

† Ventosoes is *ventosas*, the Portuguese for cupping-glasses.

‡ Calicuts is *calico*, an Indian stuff made of cotton.

§ Calenture is the Spanish *calentura* for fever.

"Goa stone," which once enjoyed a great reputation throughout the East. He writes:—"The Paulistines* enjoy the biggest of all the monasteries at St. Rock; in it is a library, an hospital, and an apothecary's shop well furnished with medicines, where Gaspar Antonio, a Florentine, a lay brother of the Order, the author of the Goa stones, brings them in 50,000 xerafins, by that invention annually. He is an old man, and almost blind, being of great esteem for his long practice in physic, and therefore applied to by the most eminent of all ranks and orders in this city. It is built like a cross, and shows like a seraglio on the water." *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

These "Goa stones" seem also to have been exported to Europe, for, according to the *Report of the Old Records*, etc., p. 15, Goa stones are mentioned as late as 1702 in a list of articles or of the Eastern produce to be taken in exchange for the bullion and commodities sent out in the East India Company's ships.

The Portuguese used to call these stones *pedras cordeaes*, just as the "Goa powder" of the British trade is called by them *pó do Brazil*. There is no doubt that these *pedras cordeaes* were a great source of revenue to the Jesuits in India, not unlike the green and yellow liqueur, prepared by the inmates of the Grande Chartreuse, or the monastery founded by St. Bruno about 800 years ago, which brings to the famous convent a large income, and millions offered for its formula have been rejected.

The composition of these stones, which had long remained a secret, appears to have been revealed after the death of the Florentine, Gaspar Antonio, to brother George Ungarete. The Pharmacopœa Bateana gives (p. 133, from which it is copied in the Pharmacopœa Tubalense) the following formula,—white coral, red coral and bezoar stone. This stone is found in the stomach of a *pavan*, a kind of goat or antelope. It gets its name which signifies "antidote to poison" from two Persian words بہ (*be*) "against" and زہر (*zahr*) "poison"; of each of these ingredients two ounces. Ruby, jacinth, topaz, sapphire, seed-pearl, of each one ounce; emerald, half an ounce; ambergris and musk two scruples of each; gold leaves number iv., mucilage of *alcatira* (tragacanth) prepared in rose-water, *quantum satis*. All these ingredients were mixed and the mass divided into globules, dried and burnished with the tooth of a

* Paulistines stands for Paulistas, the name given to the Jesuits in India from their College of St. Paul, that of St. Rock being called S. Paulo novo, or new St. Paul.

javali (wild boar). The dose was from two to four globules, each globule weighing 5 grains. It was believed to be a supreme remedy against mental diseases, all sorts of fevers, and poisons of all kinds.

After the extinction of the Order of the Jesuits in 1760, the secret formula of the *pedras cordeaes* was communicated to the Capuchins of the Convent of the *Madre de Deus*, and they were prepared in their pharmacy until 1835, when all the religious orders were abolished. The Provincial of the Order, however, Fr. Manoel do Carmo Pacheco, continued to prepare the pills, and at his death the secret was handed over to a friend, who was selling them, especially in Macao as late as 1864. In Bombay the native drug-dealer calls them *Pedro Cordeiro*

But to return to the narrative. According to the above-mentioned "*Historical Account of Bombay*," Bombay was first governed by deputies from the English factory at Surat, but dissensions soon arose between the military and civil powers, which grew to such a height that in 1671 all was confusion. In order to put an end to it, and also to fortify the island against the attempts of the Dutch, then at war with England, Gerald Aungier, who was disgusted with the arrogance of the Moghal Governor of Surat, changed his residence to Bombay, where his presence, it was believed, would quash dissensions, his management would advance the Company's interests, and his activity would secure the island from the attack of the enemy. So was it, for when the Dutch in the spring of 1672 attempted a surprise, they found the Fort so well guarded and everything in such excellent order that they gave up the attempt.

From that time the settlement of Bombay began to grow in importance and it was resolved that the residence of the Governor should be fixed there, all the factories on the Indian Western Coast and in the Persian Gulf being dependent on that presidency.

Notwithstanding the inconvenience felt by the inhabitants of the island in the want of springs and streams of fresh water, as well as from the poverty of agricultural produce, its population began slowly to increase. Some were invited by the freedom granted to all religions alike; others by the mildness of the Government which, even when pushed to what would seem tyranny elsewhere, was considered to be gentleness in comparison with Mahomedan insolence and Portuguese bigotry. The ten thousand souls, which was the utmost of the inhabitants of the island in 1665, had in 1764, within a century, grown to sixty thousand. But I need not anticipate.

Before 1683 in which year Captain Richard Keigwin seized the island in the King's name, by a mutinous revolt, and held it; from the 27th of December till the 19th of November following, there were four Governors of the Company in Bombay, *viz.*:—Sir George Oxenden, 1668-1669; Gerald Aungier, 1669-1677; Thomas Rolt whose pompous title, somewhat similar to that assumed by D. Manuel in 1499, after the return of Vasco da Gama to Lisbon, as Lord of the commerce and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India, was "Governor of Bombay, and President of India, Persia, Arabia, &c.," 1677-1681, and lastly Sir John Child, who had been appointed President at Surat in 1681-1690, and styled "Captain General and Admiral of India" in 1684, while Sir John Wyborne (or Wyburn as others write it), was made "Vice-Admiral and Deputy Governor of Bombay"; he, along with Mr. Zinzan, was afterwards dismissed the Company's service for disputing the authority of Sir John Child in 1687-88.

Captain Keigwin's mutiny against the authority of the Company caused considerable alarm. He is said, however, to have been a brave man as is proved by his escalade of Keigwin's Rock (St. Helena) on the 15th of May 1673, and his attack on Sivaji's armada off Henery on the 18th of October 1679, when, after a vain attempt to dislodge him by the English supported by the Sidi (Saed) of Janjira, Henery was occupied. Other personal merits gained him the sympathy of such Company's officials at Bombay as Mr. George Bourchier and Mr. John Petit.

The suppression of Captain R. Keigwin's mutiny is a curious episode in the annals of Bombay, and an interesting subject for an exhaustive monograph, but it is unfortunately beyond the limits assigned to this work. Sir John Child's supremacy was now again recognised. It was Sir Thomas Grantham who quelled the revolt and then sailed home with Keigwin in 1685, leaving Mr. Zinzan as Governor of Bombay for some time. Sir John Child died at Bombay in 1690.

But Gerald Aungier's rule requires a more detailed treatment. He was appointed President in succession to Sir G. Oxenden, who had died at Surat on the 14th of July 1669. Owing to the ill-will which had sprung up between Captain Young and the civilians, resulting in the recall and trial of the former, the President G. Aungier accompanied by Mr. Charles James and Mr. Alexander Grigby to assist him in the deliberations of the Council, embarked at Surat for

Bombay on the 11th of January 1670. On his arrival, after investigating the accusations against Captain Young, he published the Company's regulations, referred to above, and in February, after appointing Mr. Mathew Gray Deputy Governor, and the beforementioned Portuguese resident Legal Remembrancer, returned to Surat. In the interval, as the Court of Directors had named Mr. Gray to the Council of Surat, Mr. Gyford was nominated Deputy Governor of Bombay by Mr. G. Aungier, and Captain Shanton was placed in supreme command of the troops. The fortifications of Bombay were at this period on a very limited scale; the bastions and curtains of the fort towards the land had been raised to within nine feet of their intended height, but towards the sea batteries were only erected, as bastions would be the work of subsequent years. The ordnance consisted of twenty-one pieces of cannon, with the requisite stores. There were only two gunners, and the other soldiers served the guns as occasion required. At Mazagon, Sion, Upper Máhim and Varlí there were small forts also mounted with cannon.

Mr. G. Aungier went back to Bombay in 1672. After a perilous voyage with the south-west monsoon so close at hand, his safe arrival on the 7th of June was announced by the Surat Council to Fort St. George in a letter of the 19th. There were so many urgent affairs of the island to be settled "that no consideration could divert him from running the greatest hazards to serve his honourable masters." He wanted to spend the rains in Bombay in order to settle the Courts of Justice, the restitution of the lands to the Jesuits, and to reduce people to a more orderly government. His object was to nationalize as much as possible the island. One of his numerous proposals was that only English weights and measures should be appointed by public authority to be used on the island, and all others forbidden. He also proposed that the proceedings of the Upper Courts which had thereto been done in the Portuguese language should now be done in English. Another proposal was to the effect that children born of English Protestants married with Native Roman Catholics should be brought up as Protestants, and that the Company should encourage the sending out of English women. But some years later the expedition and landing of English women to the island gave rise to the complaint of their being "needy Englishwomen." In a letter from Surat to Bombay, of the 18th of December 1675, we read:—"And whereas you give us notice that some of the women are grown scandalous to our nation, religion and government, we require you in the Honour-

able Company's name to give them all fair warning that they do apply themselves to a more sober and Christian conversation, otherwise the sentence is this that they shall be confined totally of their liberty to go abroad, and fed with bread and water till they are embarked on board ship for England." *Selections*, Vol. I., p. 74; and *Materials*, Part I., p. 79.

The wise military precautions adopted by Mr. G. Aungier for the defence of the island were soon destined to show the necessity of his measures by an event that then occurred. A Dutch fleet arrived on the 20th of February 1673, with the intention of taking the island by surprise. According to Orme, Mr. Aungier was then in Bombay, and exerted himself on that occasion with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion. Rickloffe Van Goen, the Dutch Commodore, finding to his mortification that heavy ordnance had already been mounted on the fortifications and that there were in the harbour three men of war, stood up to the Western side of the island, and threatened a descent in the Máhim Channel; but Mr. Aungier rapidly marched to that quarter and ranged his troops there. The Dutch with six thousand men on board their fleet sheered off, and peace was soon concluded between England and Holland, the people of Bombay being thus relieved from further apprehension. Anderson, *English in Western India*, p. 59.

This disturbed condition of the island led Mr. Aungier to stay upon it for a period of three years, returning to Surat in September 1675. Prior to his embarkation, he drew up a long and elaborate report upon the condition and prospects of Bombay for the information of the Court. This information written during the season of 1673-74, was in fact a statistical account of the island, specifying the division of it into the districts of Bombay and Máhim, with an account of its inhabitants, the extent and magnitude of its fortifications, and the strength of the garrison. He resembled in this respect the well-known Simão Botelho, the Overseer of the Revenues of Bassein, who in 1554 wrote the *Tombo do Estado da India* and letters to the King of Portugal, just as Mr. Aungier wrote, a century and a quarter after, to the Court of Directors in London. The report proceeded to consider the practicability of rendering Bombay a seat of trade, equal to Surat, without interfering with the latter. But the rise of Bombay naturally meant the decline of Surat. By way of increasing the population and developing the resources of

the island, Mr. Aungier made attempts to establish manufactures. His attention was next directed to improving the revenues of the island by the establishment of a Mint. That it might have the countenance of royal authority, letters patent, dated the 5th of October 1676 and the year 28th of Charles II.'s reign, were issued. In 1681 Mr. Smith was sent from England as Assay and Mint Master, on a salary of sixty pounds per year. The value of money coined here and at Surat in 1697 was fixed at 2s. 6d. the rupee; the xerafim at 20 pence; the Persian Shahí at 4 shillings, and the Pagoda at 9 shillings. The coins first struck here, which bore Persian characters, are said to have been stamped in a style which offended the Moghal Emperor, and for a time the practice was discontinued. See *Bruce's Annals*, 1704-8. Mr. Aungier also took measures for farming the customs and for introducing excise duties, to which the inhabitants had been accustomed under the Portuguese Government.

Mr. Aungier then solicited to be relieved from his position, and Mr. Rolt was appointed his successor. But on the 30th of June 1677, long before Mr. Rolt's arrival, Mr. Aungier died, Henry Oxenden assuming the Government of Bombay. According to the *M. Miscellany*, Mr. Aungier is said to have died within the precincts of this island, but no trace can be found as to where his mortal remains repose. There is no single memorial raised to the memory of this great benefactor of Bombay, where there are statues of mere mediocrities. But the fact is that he died at Surat, where nobody yet knows the place of his sepulture. The Surat letter of the 30th of June to the Bombay Government states that "it hath pleased God to our great sorrow after a tedious sickness to take out of this life their worthy President, Gerald Aungier, who deceased this morning between 4 and 5 of the clock," and confirmed Mr. John Petit in the management of the affairs of the island. He was buried on the Monday following. In reply the Bombay Council wrote:—"We cannot rightly express the reality of our grief at the perusal of the deplorable news of the death of our late noble President. Multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depaint its greatness and the knowledge we have of the true worth and integrity of his successors. It shall be our continual prayer for a blessing on your great affairs." *Selections*, Vol. I., pp. 116 and 133. Also *Materials* I., p. 78.

The attractive personality of Gerald Aungier indicates him to have

descended from a noble stock of French origin. He was a Huguenot and his ancestors, who once lived in Augers, had emigrated to England after that bloody and indiscriminate massacre of the Protestants (called in France Huguenots), on the eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572.

Gerald Aungier, according to Mr. J. Douglas in his *Book of Bombay*, made his first appearance in Bombay in 1662. Deputed by the Surat Government, he came to claim the island of Bombay, along with the Earl of Marlborough, for the King of England. Then, on his succeeding Sir George Oxenden, as President of Surat and Governor of Bombay, he paid a short visit in 1670, then again in 1672, resided here until 1675, and died at Surat in 1677. Thus for eight years he was Governor of Bombay. As one of the founders of the British Empire in India, he resembles Affonso de Albuquerque in some traits and D. João de Castro in others. Like the former, who having discovered in the village communities the element of self-government, preserved it among the new subjects of His Majesty the King, D. Manuel, Aungier formed the *Panchayet*, a representative body of five men of each section, which, in a mixed community like that of Bombay, helped to solve the problem of responsibility for the good behaviour of their respective sections. He incorporated it with the fabric of his administrative code.

In his masterful character as a man of culture and of action, Gerald Aungier resembles D. João de Castro. They were both scholars and real representatives of the genius of Western literature in India in their respective periods, and their letters, the only exponents extant of their thoughts, like the works of great authors, are imbued with the feelings

> "Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence."

In fortifying Bombay, as the Portuguese Viceroy fortified Diu, in quelling the spirit of insubordination and in rewarding generously the good and deserving, in liberality and in religiousness, in statesmanship of a high order, and in the wisdom of his policy, Gerald Aungier seems to be a faithful reproduction of that prototype of the Indian Governors, D. João de Castro. And when death overtook them both, they were lamented by all, and their names are lovingly revered even to this day. A relic of Gerald Aungier's religiousness is still preserved in St. Thomas' Cathedral. It is a silver chalice, which he presented to the Christian community of Bombay in 1675.

bearing, under his shield of arms, which shows a demi-griffin and a boar *passant*, the following inscription :—

Hunc calicem
Eucharistæ Sacrum Esse
Voluit
Honorabilis Geraldus
Aungierus, Insulæ Bombaiæ
Gubernator, Ac Pro Rebus Honorabilis
Anglorum Societatis Indijs
Orientalibus Mercatorum Agentium Præses
illustrii
ærœ Christianæ
Anno 1675.

Of the various measures devised and adopted by Aungier for the improvement of Bombay, two demand a cursory consideration from their historical value, before we proceed on with the current of subsequent events. These two measures were the introduction into the island of two powerful mercantile elements, and the famous compact entered into by the Government and the inhabitants regarding their estates. Both these wise measures were dictated by a bold and highly honourable policy, as proved by the lasting beneficial results that have accrued from them. The first was to allow the Gujarat Baniás, an energetic mercantile community, to settle in Bombay. In 1671 the Mahájan or committee of the Surat Baniá community desired the assurance of certain privileges before risking the move to Bombay, and the Company complied with the Máhajan's request. Then in the year 1677 followed the settlement of the family of Nima Párakh, a Baniá, belonging to the city of Diu, when formal articles were agreed to on both sides. One of these articles was to the effect that the Baniás should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, secured from all molestation, and that none of their religion, of whatever age, sex or condition, should be compelled to embrace Christianity. This was evidently a worthy policy enjoined by the observation of the mournful effects the religious fanaticism of their rivals had produced on the trade of their own settlements in the East. *Fas est ab hoste doceri.* See *Selections*, Vol. I., pp. 46 *et seq.* and 111. *Materials*, Part I., p. 76.

The other class of merchants who were treated with remarkable civility and friendship in Bombay by the Government, were the

Armenians, who in 1676 in an affair relating to the Ship S. Francisco were afforded all the assistance they could desire. *Materials*, Part I., p. 59. These early Armenians, whose names official documents happily record, were Khoja Karakuz, Khoja Minaz and Khoja Delaune, and their number increased considerably within a short time. They resided mostly within the Fort enclosure, where they have left the legacy of their name to the Armenian Lane. They dwindled down to a few families about the beginning of the present century. About fifty years since most of these scattered families were living at Byculla, their great Indian centre being then Calcutta.

More than a century ago they had built a church, known as the Armenian or Eutychian Church, which was subject to the Patriarchate of Mesopotamia. This church is still standing in Meadows Street. It was built by Yakub Petrus when in affluent circumstances. Later on, when struggling with monetary difficulties, he sought to recover and convert it into a cotton-screw. He naturally failed in his solicitation for assistance to the law, as the purpose to which the Armenian Church was to be applied was both express and declared. The church is to the east of the Roman Catholic Chapel of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. It is small and compact, with a parsonage adjoining. A priest and a deacon or two are attached to it. At the time the Armenian community in Bombay was large and flourishing, the Church was deemed to be wealthy. It is rich even now in the number of epitaphs in Armenian which it contains, and which adorn its floor, making quite a unique pavement, a mosaic of inscriptions.

The decay of the Armenians was followed by the gradual rise of the Parsi section, which is now the most advanced of the Bombay community. In intelligence, in industry, in civic virtues and in philanthropy it is one of the most important factors in the growth and prosperity of this city. There were a few Parsis in the island at the time of the Portuguese, and some also in the neighbouring islands; but their gradual increase, as they have been coming from Gujarát and the places around, is of a comparatively recent date. When the British took possession of the island, the only races known here were the ancient Kôlis, a dozen Portuguese families, with as many missionaries (three of whom were located in their church on the Esplanade, one at Mazagon, four at Parel, and the rest at Máhim, with the flock of their native converts), and the British servants of the Government, and, later on, of the Company. The first to settle here after them were the Surat and Diu Baniás, then the

Armenians, and lastly the Parsis, whose history has already been published by others and needs no repetition here.

But no history of Bombay would be complete without at least an allusion to the Parsis. Dr. John Fryer, writing in 1673, has only one sentence referring to them. "A-top of all (Malabar Hill)," he says, "is a Parsee tomb lately reared." As Fryer's time has been variously given I may quote here the exact dates. He came out with the fleet of 1672, composed of ten ships, among them one named *Bombaim*, Fryer's ship being *Unity*. They were all commissioned as men-of-war, the English being at the time "at open defiance against the Dutch." Fryer asked in 1679 to be made Surgeon to the Surat Factory. He dedicated his *New Account of East India and Persia* to the Duke of Newcastle, etc., in 1698. See Sir G. Birdwood's *Report*, pp. 50 and 83.

With reference to the mention by Fryer of a Parsi tomb, I find among my notes the following:—"The first work of the Parsis wherever they settle is to construct a tomb (*dakhma*)* or Tower of Silence for the reception of their dead, and the statement of Dr. Fryer is a sufficient proof that no considerable number of the Parsis could have settled on the island before its cession to the British. The tradition current among the Parsis is that the first individual of their race who resided with his family in Bombay during the Portuguese rule was Dorabji Nanabhai. He was employed by the Portuguese authorities in transacting miscellaneous business with the natives of the place. After the cession of the island to the British Crown he was appointed to a similar office. The next Parsi settler in Bombay was one Lowji, a shipwright. He left Surat, his native city, for Bombay, by the advice of Mr. Dudley, who was Superintendent of the Company's vessels at Surat. Under his supervision the Bombay Dockyard was built in 1735, but of this more hereafter. After Lowji came the Sett Khandan, the Dady Sett and the Banaji families.

"There were some Parsis employed by the Portuguese Government as clerks in the Bassein jurisdiction; but after the cession of Bombay their number increased rapidly, and the Company's trade with Surat caused them to flourish. At the beginning they took up the occupations of shop-keepers, *dalals* or brokers and clerks. A few were employed as domestic servants to Europeans and also as coach-

* With regard to the origin of the word *Dakhma*, see my Memoir entitled "Contributions to the Study of Avestaic and Vedic Analogies," in the *Journal of the B. B. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV., pp. 5 *et seq.*

men, but they rose gradually to be merchants. It is said that at first only males came to Bombay, as they were afraid to bring their women here, on account of the insecurity of the place. By helping the British with the information about the enemies around them, they gained the confidence of the Government, who encouraged them to settle on the island, and gave them situations in their offices. During the invasion of the island by the Sidi of Janjira in 1692, it is said that Rustom, son of Dorabji, assisted the English with a body of the Kôlis. For his bravery and timely assistance he was appointed Patel of Bombay, and a *sanad* (Maráthi सनद, a written grant or a commission) was issued to the effect that the title should continue in his family. He was invested with the power to settle domestic disputes among the Kôlis. On his death, during the governorship of Mr. Hornby, his son was made Patel. The tank which the latter built at Kumartukada is still known by the name of Cawasji Patel's tank. On the capture of Thána, in which the Parsis are said to have helped the English, more Parsis came to settle in Bombay." There are three kinds of fire-worshipping places, *viz.*, Adaryan, Atash-behram and Dagda. The first is a place where there are about fifty or sixty ceremonial fires; the second where there are one hundred different kinds of fire, brought from various places; and the third, a sort of private oratory, holds but one. Agiari is a generic name meaning a place of the sacred fire, and is generally applied to inferior temples, like the Roman Catholic chapels, in contrast with churches or cathedrals.

Then follows a list of the fire temples thus :—

The Dossabhoy N. Sett's fire temple was built about 1782. It is situated near Phanaswadi, Agiari Lane, and is maintained by the rent of the oart (horta) De Garb, yielding about Rs. 500 annually. The Agiari Lane was built by Dady Sett.

The Hormusji B. Wadia's temple was built in 1830 on the Girgaum Road or Chandanwadi. It is principally maintained by the revenue derived from a chawl (from Maráthi चाळ *chal*, 'a range of houses') in the immediate vicinity of the temple. It is the most frequented of all the temples, being closer to the Fort, and built by a Sanskal or Rashmi, to which sect the majority of the Parsis belongs. The Kadmis have two temples of their own. A new temple of the former sect has been lately built in the same street southwards.

Wadia's temple has a large compound and a hall for the Jasan ceremony, and places therein in different blocks, set apart for the

performance of marriages and obsequies of the dead. To this hall an Agiari or small fire temple is attached, which is said to be an exceptional case, as no two fire-temples are allowed in such close proximity elsewhere.

The Cowasji B. Banaji or Goga's temple, situated in the Charney Road facing the Queen's Road, was consecrated on the 13th of December 1845. It is the best of all the fire temples in India, and is said to have cost Rs. 2,25,000 ; it is splendidly furnished, and its hall is 68 feet by 28 feet. It is supported by the sale of the produce of the lands situated at Sâlsette, bequeathed to the temple.

There are several other Agiaris or small fire-temples in Bombay. The one at Colaba was built by Jejibhoy Dadabhoy in 1835.

There are more than half-a-dozen Agiaris in the Fort, the best being the Dady Sett's, which was first set up on a private ground, but was eventually removed to the Todd Street by the late Dady Sett, and thence to the Hornby Road. It is nearly 125 years old.

The Banaji's Agiari, so called from its founder's name Limji Banaji, is opposite the Patel's oldest house in the Fort. It was built in 1720."

As a more detailed account of these Parsi temples in Bombay will be of some interest for the future I shall give it here below.

The fire temple next in importance to those mentioned above is the Maneckji Sett's Agiari at the Bazar Gate Street, built by Maneckji Nowroji Sett,—the owner of the Nowroji Hill, once a parcel of the Mazagon Manor called Verzey hill from the Portuguese word *varzea*, which means a rice-field, there having been one close to the hill on the north side. It was built in 1734.

The Maneckji D. Shroff's Agiari, in a lane at the back of the old Police Court, was built in 1790, at Chowpati, and then transferred by his son and rebuilt in the Fort in 1816.

The Parsi Panchayet Agiari was established by a section of the Parsi Community in 1826 for a certain class of the Parsi priests in the Shapur Sett Chakla and rebuilt in 1860 at the expense of Sir J. Jijibhoy's sons, whose charity fund pays Rs. 750 yearly for its maintenance.

The M. Carsetjee Langda's (a lame man) Agiari in Golvar at the back of the Sir J. J. Parsi Benevolent Institution was built by that gentleman in 1848.

There are several other Agiaris built in the Fort by various persons, the most ancient being the one founded by Modi Hirji Vacha in 1670, which was destroyed by the great fire of 1803.

In Dhobi Talao there are the following Agiaris—one built by Mrs. Wadia in 1862; one at the Kándawalá Street, in 1847; and one near Khárá Kuvá in 1822.

In Bendi Bazar there is an Agiari opposite the stables, the scene of the Mahomedan riots in February 1874. It was built by Bomanji M. Mevawala, or fruit-man, in 1851. There is another at Khetwadi in the main Parsi Street, built in 1832 by Cavasji M. Ashburner. There is in the same district another Agiari in the Kama-Bhág, built by Pallonjee C. Cama in 1868, where weddings and feasts are celebrated.

At Duncan Road, a locality thickly populated by the Musalmans, there is an Agiari built by Hormusji D. Patel in 1834. In the riots of February 1874 this place was also threatened by the Mahomedans, and the Zoroastrians were anxious to remove it to a safer locality.

The other Agiaris are, one at Grant Road, founded by a Parsi priest, Sorabji H. Ranji in 1868; one at Tardeo, by Chandanbai, widow of Byramji C. Bottlewalla, in 1865; one at Mahálakśmi, near Kambala Hill, by the sons of a Parsi poet, Dadabhoy Cavasji Shaheir, in 1846; one at Chowpatti, at the foot of Malabar Hill, close to the Tower of Silence, built in 1858, by the heirs of Sorabji Vacha-Ghandi in honour of his memory; one at Malabar Hill, by Sorabji C. Thuthi, in 1860; three at Mazagon, *viz:*—one built by Framji N. Patel, in 1845, changing a Dagdá, founded by his grandfather in 1785, a second by the Gazdar family, and known as Nanabhai Supla's Agiari, in 1867, and a third at the Mount Road behind the Victoria Gardens, erected in 1822, by Nowroji C. Narelwala, or cocoa-nut seller.

At Parel, one Agiari was first set up in 1833, in the garden of the Lal-Bágh, an extensive building once belonging to Dadabhoy Wadia. But the building having been sold to Government (it is now a charitable institution of the Nusserwanji M. Petit Fund, where there was the Army Clothing Agency) the Agiari was removed to another place presented to it by the members of the Wadia family, and built in close proximity to the Wadia Dispensary in a separate area, known as Lowji Wadia's Agiari and Dispensary, on the road leading to the Old Government House.

In short, there are altogether forty-one places of worship for the Parsis in Bombay scattered all over the island as far as Máhim. They range from Dagdás or private oratories to Adaryans, where several ceremonial fires are preserved, and to the highest of them all—Atash-behrams.

The latest Atash-behram, called the Parsi Anjuman's Atash-behram, is the one built at Girgaum Road, its *kiria* or consecration having lasted for many days. It was concluded on the 17th of October 1897, when the beautiful temple, with some architectural features borrowed from the old Persopolitan palaces, was opened to the public worship of the Parsi community. There are now altogether four Atash-behrams in Bombay, two beloging to the sect of the Rashmis or Shenshais and two to that of the Kadmis.

Besides the above there are various other places set apart for religious worship in public institutions, such as the Parsi Sanitarium at Middle Colaba, and at Allai-bágh in Shaik Abdul Rahman Street, etc. There are some Agiaris also in the neighbourhood of Bombay, as those at Bandora and Thána, besides some ancient and venerable fire-temples in Udvara, Navsari, Surat, and other parts of Gujarát, etc. Those of Navsari and its new Dackma or Tower of Silence I had once the chance of visiting before its consecration in 1875, after which no stranger was allowed to enter.

At the time of Fryer in 1673 there was only one Dackma or Tower of Silence in Bombay, but now there are not less than seven. These towers are about 100 feet in diameter. There is within the enclosure of the Towers an Agiari, where the sacred fire, fed with sweet-scented sandalwood, is always burning. Of the seven Towers of Silence the first two are exclusively kept for the members of the families to whom they belong. 1. Dadybhoy Nasserwanji Sett's; 2. M. J. Ready-money's, built by the advice of an Armenian in 1786, for his own use; 3. Modiji's, built in 1670; 4. Maneckji Nowroj Sett's, in 1757; 5. One built by the Parsi Panchayet, in 1779; 6. Framji C. Banaji's, in 1832; 7. Cavasji E. Bisni's or Kapuskao's (cotton-eater), in 1844. It is said that in 1798 a Tower was built by the revenue derived from the Chaupatty Garden's produce.

There were so few Parsis in Bombay when Dr. Fryer was here that he refers to only one Dackma. It was evidently that built by Modi in 1670. "On the other side of the great inlet to the sea," he says, "is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island, and is called Malabar Hill, a rocky, woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass, a-top of all is a Parsi Tomb lately reared." *op. cit.* p. 67. Modi's Tomb was, moreover, a private one.

There are, among other monuments of the Parsis in Bombay, some splendid school-buildings, such as the Sir J. J. Benevolent Insti-

tution, and the Allbless Bhág, for celebrating marriages and holding public meetings, built by Edulji Framji Karani, at the cost of more than Rs. 1,50,000 in 1868. The Allai-bhág was built by Sir J. Jejibhoy, at a cost of Rs. 70,000 in 1839. The Camabhág at Khetwadi was built at the cost of Rs. 1,50,000 in 1868 by Pallanjee C. Kama. The Merwan-bhág or the Parsi Sanitarium was built by Merwanji F. Panday in 1865 at a cost of Rs. 4,00,000 for the sick and convalescent of the Parsi community. There are more than a hundred rooms in it, with a pretty little clock tower in the central garden, with a medical attendant and a pharmacy on the premises. There is also at Karelwadi, near Charni Road, a well furnished Dharamsala, where Parsi travellers find repose and refreshment at a nominal charge. It was built by the same benefactor of his community, Merwanji F. Panday, for Rs. 1,38,000 in 1865.

The first religious feud between the Shenshais and Kadmis took place at the instance of Dady Sett in 1779. On his return from Persia, where he had been to ascertain the exact Zoroastrian era, Mulla Khaus, the father of the Persian scholar, Mulla Firoz, induced Dady Sett with his party to adopt it, naming it Kadmi from *kadini*, 'original.' Their New Year comes just one month in advance of the 'Shenshai year.' This dispute about the era caused the Shenshais to spend Rs. 40,000 and the Kadmis Rs. 20,000 in the year 1826 in Bombay alone. See *Kholase Panchayat*, in Gujaráti, Bombay, 1843, p. 318. The strife arose in Surat and was propagated to Bombay. It was after all a mere academic question. It all ended in the so-called *kabisa* or the intercalation of one month somewhere, in the year, such intercalary month preserving, in their opinion, the equation of time. (See Haug's *Parsis*, ed. 1884, p. 85.) Its adoption has made the Kadmis precede by one month the ordinary reckoning of the Senshais. The two rival parties are now living in good friendship.

But to return to the history of the Government of Bombay. The second important measure of Mr. Aungier, to which I have already briefly alluded above, is what is known as Governor Aungier's convention. When the island was under the Portuguese rule, the feudal system prevailed here, and the Company in their time also held it in feudal tenure from the Crown. But disputes arising between the Government and the inhabitants, as to what lands belonged to the latter and what to the Crown of Portugal, disputes that were continued after the island was made over to the Company,

certain articles of agreement were entered into on the 12th of November 1672 between Governor Aungier and his Council on behalf of the Company of the one part, and "the people of this Island" of the other.

At the time of the cession, the land which was not in private hands was vested in the British Crown and later on in the East India Company. But it was not much. Almost all the villages which constituted then the Island of Bombay had already, according to the *Tombo* of Simão Botelho, been leased (*aforados*) for a *foro* or a quit-rent to various parties. The rest of the ground, except in the portions built over, such as the Fort, the native Town, Mazagon and Máhim, was a mere swamp, or covered by the sea in the low part of the island, or else some barren uncultivated ridges as Malabar Hill, Mazagon, Parel or Chinchpugli hill. Thus the so-called Crown lands consisted of 40,000 acres of soil covered by the sea, Malabar Hill with other ridges, and the two small Islands southwards, which jointly were then called Colio, afterwards Old Woman's Island, and now Colaba. But even these two islets were a later acquisition. It was Gerald Aungier who by a new deed acquired them from the Portuguese, as especially adapted for a military cantonment.

Previous to this, at the desire of the Governor in Council, a general assembly of the chief representatives of the people was held at the Castle of Bombay on the 1st of October 1672. On the 4th of the same month the representatives of the people presented to the Governor in Council twelve articles of agreement, which, after a serious and public debate at another assembly held on the 1st of November 1672, was agreed to.

The persons present at this meeting were Governor Aungier and his five Members of the Council, two Secretaries, one English and the other Portuguese, Antonio Ifretis (?) da Silva, and Assistant to the Attorney-General, Luiz Cassadive (?) de Lima on the one side, and Father Reginaldo Burgos, Procurator for the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, Mr. Henry Gary, Alvaro Pires de Tavora, Lord of the Manor of Mazagon, Pedro Luiz Timon, Procurator, Martim Alfius (Affonso ?) de Mello, Francisco Preto, João Pereira and Antonio de Lima of Bombay on the other side. Among the twelve articles the first stipulates to the effect that the inhabitants of the island do offer to the Honourable Company 20,000 xerafins (Rs. 13,850) yearly, including in this sum the quit-rents that they did pay formerly. These articles were eventually raised on the 12th of

November 1672 to fourteen and agreed to by all those who were present, the eminents of the *povo* or people being one hundred and twenty.

Two years later, on the 16th of July 1674, the Governor held another general assembly of the people in Bombay Castle, in which he desired them to declare their minds freely, the Government having understood "that several inhabitants of the isle did give out divers words tending to the dishonour and discredit of the Honourable Company's Government on this isle, saying that above said contract, made between the Governor or Honorable Company and the Povo, was an unjust and accursed contract." Certain English landholders in Bombay refused to pay what was assessed on them, pretending that they did not sign the contract. Later on, on the 17th of January 1676, the Surat Council wrote to the Company:—"It were well that the English were encouraged to plant (settle) on the island which would be more secure if all the land were possessed by them." Unfortunately they have not done so up to now, probably on account of the fear rightly entertained by them of the degeneracy of the race in the tropics above referred to.

The 10th article said that "the little isle Colio reaching from the outer point westwardly of the isle to the paccari (*pákhádi*) or parish called Polo (Apollo) will be of great use to the Honourable Company, in the good design which they have for the security and defence of their whole isle, it is hereby agreed that it shall be totally and wholly reserved for the use of the said Company, they making such reasonable satisfaction to the person interested therein as hereafter is expressed." The 11th article ran thus:—". . . it is agreed the first payment due on the 9th February shall be suspended to the 9th June following being the year 1673, which said sum be left in the hands of the people, by the Governor and Council, towards purchasing and buying out those persons who have estates and lands in the Colio, whom they are obliged to satisfy in their respective demands always provided that the people shall pay the quit-rent due the 9th February as was formerly accustomed."

Thus it is clear that Colaba was not ceded along with the island of Bombay to the British Crown, but was purchased in 1674 by the Company, after making reasonable satisfaction to "those persons who have estates and lands in the Colio whom they are obliged to satisfy in their respective demands." *Selections*, etc., Vol. II., pp. 382 *et seq.*, *Materials*, etc., Pt. III., p. 258 *et seq.*

It appears from the documents of the time that the Portuguese authorities at Bassein did not object to this alienation, probably because the barrenness of the rocky islet had shown them that it was not worth keeping any longer after the cession of its neighbouring island of Bombay to the British.

The reference to "the little isle Colio," in Aungier's convention, however, induces me to cast a rapid glance at this portion of the topography of the cluster of islands as they were two centuries and a quarter ago. I have already described above as briefly as possible the divided and almost polynesian constitution of old Bombay while considering its geological features. But it is necessary to enter here into details regarding the little isle Colio, in order to illustrate the gradual changes that have taken place and brought about the consolidation of the island and growth quickening i ts progress.

Antonio Bocarro refers in the year 1634 to Colaba as 'the islet called Candil' (o ilheo que chamão Candil) which in Aungier's time had become Colio. As late as 1827 it was called Old Woman's island, as well as Colaba. Cottineau de Kloguen, in November 1827, writes :—"J'ai été me promener avec le Père Augustin à l'Ile de Culaba qui n'est séparée de celle de Bombay que dans la marée haute et alors on y passe en bateau : c'est sur cette île qu'on appelle aussi l'Ile de la vielle femme qu'est la tour d'eau ou le fanal à son extremité meridionale." *Inst. Vasco da Gama*, Vol. III., p. 104. All these varied names of the islet are traceable to the designation of the aboriginal race of the Kôli fishermen whose hamlet it was in early times, as it is even now somewhat partially, for it is restricted to that part of the island alone which faces the harbour.

The writer in the *M. Miscellany*, says :—"At the extremity of the southern horn of this Back-bay—for so it is called—and upon a natural mound of 143 feet above the level of the sea, stands the Light-House . . . . Commencing southward, there formerly existed two distinct islands with which there lay even a land communication at the neap tides ; the one was Colaba where the barracks, etc., now exist and its southern companion *Old Woman's Island*—the waters flowed between, and at the springs they looked, as they must have been originally, two distinct islands. And where the Colaba Causeway now stands and farther, higher up—for large plots of ground have been recovered since these arrangements—the waters of the ocean flowed heavily, securely, and communication only existed by boat. But times improved, and an ingenious head contrived a

pontoon of peculiar description, to be worked in a particular manner, and this formed the constant means of intercourse between Old Woman's Island and Bombay. Yet there they lay Colaba, Old Woman's Island, and Bombay, three distinct islands! Bombay too, how different at that period?" pp. 52 and 60.

P. Anderson in *The English in Western India*, writes:—"Colaba or Old Woman's Island, as it was called for long, had been taken possession of peaceably in 1674 after an arrangement made between Gerald Aungier and the Portuguese. For many years it was only used "to keep the Company's antelopes, and other beasts of delight." None of its land was appropriated to individuals, as from the first it was reserved to be a military cantonment." p. 68.

In 1734 a gun-powder mill, to work with twenty-four pestles either by buffaloes or wind, was set about on Old Woman's Island, according to the scheme proposed by Mr. Archibald Campbell. The powder house was completed, but as late as 1741 it had not been used. It was made in such a manner that in case the buffaloes did not answer, a contrivance changed it into a windmill. On the 20th of November 1741 a model was obtained for a new powder mill, and the question arose as to whether the powder-house on Old Woman's island should be used or a new house built near the existing powder-house. As in 1742 Old Woman's island was out of the way for the work people, and had neither fresh water nor store-houses, a site close to the existing powder-house near the old Secretariat was chosen. In January 1747 this house on the Old Woman's island, with the ground around it, was sold to Mr. Richard Broughton, the renter of the island, for Rs. 600. This island was leased to Mr. Broughton on the 6th of July 1743, on his application for the renewal of the lease for the term of 21 years, at Rs. 200 a year. He seems to have considerably improved the island. *Materials*, etc., Pt. III., p. 315.

Subsequent to this the Colaba island began to be built over. In 1786 General Waddington built two houses on the waste ground of the Honourable Company. In 1796 the Government instituted inquiries as to several houses built at Colaba, without any permission or authority whatever, and it was declared that "it never was the intention of Government that houses of a permanent construction should be built on the island of Colaba, which was a place for Cantonment for the troops." In consequence of such inquiries the houses built were classified in 1793 as built by usurpation within a military cantonment, and General Waddington's houses were

accordingly classified as military quarters. In 1799 the General remonstrated and forwarded to Government documents in his possession for leave for building on Old Woman's Island. In 1805 the ground was let out to the General on account of the E. I. Company through the Secretary, Mr. F. Warden, and the Collector, Mr. P. Le Messurier, on condition of his paying annually for the term of nine years, renewable or not if the Government might deem proper, Rs. 216, calculated at 11 reas per square yard, being the usual rate of quit and ground rent. It was not in fact a lease, there being no consideration for it. It was what the Collector called a grant lease, while the General always treated it as an estate in fee. The General died in 1814, and the interest in the land passed to his son Henry, who died in 1818, and then to his widow, Mrs. Waddington. On the expiration of the lease, in 1815, Mrs. Waddington continued to hold the property on a tenure from year to year until her death in 1841. His daughter Elias Diana Waddington having died in 1819 and her mother intermarried with G. Thompson, a dispute arose and the property came into the possession of the General's daughter, Mrs. Hough. *See* Sir E. Perry's *Oriental Cases, &c., p.* 489, *et seq.*

Mrs. Hough, widow of Col. R. H. Hough, formerly Military Auditor-General, died in Bombay, on the 24th of June 1873, aged 88. She was said to have dined with the Duke of Wellington in Bombay in 1803. Like Garcia da Orta's mango tree, Mrs. Hough's garden at Colaba had also a mango tree which used to fruit twice yearly, at Christmas, as well as in the usual season of mangoes, in May. Her property appears to have been sold to the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company, and a part of the ground utilised for the old Colaba Station.

The reference to the paccari (*pákhádi*) or parish called Polo requires an explanation. The name of the present Apollo Bandar is derived by some from Polo, which is traced to Pálwa, which word is again, according to Sir M. Westropp, drawn from Pál (पाल), which, *inter alia*, means a large fighting vessel, by which kind of craft the locality was probably frequented. Thus from Pálwa or Pálwar the bandar now called Apollo is supposed to take its name. In the memorial of a grant of land by Government, dated the 5th of December 1743, to Essa Matra, in exchange for land taken from him as site for part of the Fort walls, the pákhádi in question is called "Pallo." *Report*, etc., *ut supra*, Vol. IV., p. 43. Sir J. M. Campbell derives it from Pálav. *Materials*, etc., Pt. III., p. 261. It is true there is a boat called Pálva in Java, but Pálav is not in use. Pálva is said to be originally

a Sanskrit term, and one of the few boat names which the Aryan tribes have in common. But neither Pál nor Pálva seems to be the origin of the Apollo Bandar. Pál means "a house lizard," "a large sheet stretched out to make a tent," and also "a protector," but it does not mean "a large fighting vessel." It is the Portuguese *Pala*, which the Maráthas may have used for a kind of Indian ship, as they are still using many such Portuguese words. But that could not be the origin of Apollo, nor does Pálva seem to correspond to it. The real word in the Vernacular of the Bombay aborigines is पल्लव बंदर (*pallav bandar*). *Pallav* in Maráthi means "a cluster of shoots or sprouts," also "an embellishment"; and *bandar* means "a harbour," and also "the sea shore." Now a harbour or the sea shore where there was something like "a cluster of shoots" or "an embellishment" must be the true origin of the present Apollo Bandar; but what those features of embellishment were, whether connected with the cluster of the masts of the fighting boats or some physical peculiarity of the place I must leave to the imagination of the reader. Another origin of the name is the Maráthi पडाव (*padáv*), which means a skith or small light boat. *See* p. 172.

The state of Bombay after the death of Gerald Aungier, one of the greatest governors this island ever had, was extremely gloomy. The last quarter of the 17th century was not only devoid of any great achievement, or of any appreciable progress in manners and morals, but was, on the contrary, a witness to sedition, strife, immorality, unhealthiness and anarchy at home, and invasion, piracy and foreign arrogance abroad. One might have expected that after the transfer of the island to the Company there would be a truce to all the feuds and squabbles with the neighbouring European power, but there was instead a recrudescence of the old hostile feelings about the questions of boundaries and Custom dues, etc.

Thus domestic dissensions checked for many years the progress of Bombay. Keigwin, having mutinied and held the island for nearly three years, 1683-85, surrendered it at last and sailed home with Sir T. Grantham in 1685. He had in 1673 made a perilous ascent over the blue rocks of the island of St. Helena, compelling the Dutch to surrender it to the English, and become its Governor. He came to Bombay in 1674, went home and returned in 1681. Then followed that disaffection at the abolition of the Company's table from excessive thrift which burst into open revolt.

Mr Thomas Rolt, who in the meantime had succeeded Aungier,

assumed the pompous title of Governor of Bombay, President of India, Persia, Arabia, etc. He amassed a large fortune and left Bombay on the 19th of January 1682 in the "Josiah," forming part of the fleet in which Dr. Fryer returned home.

In 1684 Sir John Child was made "Captain General and Admiral of India" and Sir John Wyborne "Vice-Admiral and Deputy Governor of Bombay." His brother Sir Josia Child was chairman of the Court of Directors in London.

The years that preceded and followed the death of Gerald Aungier were calamitous to the English in point of mortality. Their chief casualties, apart from the troops divided into three companies, according to Orme, comprised first Mr. Gyfford, the Deputy Governor, then Mr. Bake, the Surveyor-General of Bombay, Mr. Gray, the Deputy President, Henry Oxenden and others.

Now follows an important phase in the fortunes and development of Bombay. In 1687 the seat of the Presidency of Western India was finally transferred to Bombay, the exact date being the 2nd of May 1687. Till then the factory at Surat was from 1617 the chief seat of the Company's Government in Western India, the factory at Bentham being a subordinate agency to Surat, and of all their possessions in the East Indies between 1629 and 1635. It was also in 1617 that the Dutch had established their factories at Surat and Broach.

In 1687-88 Sir John Wyborne and Mr. Zinzan, who had for some time remained in Bombay as Governors, after Sir Thomas Grantham sailed home with Keigwin in 1685, were dismissed the Company's service at Bombay for disputing the authority of Sir John Child, whose secret letters they were alleged to have opened. Mr. Zinzan died soon after on the 23rd of November 1687. And Sir John Child followed him on the 4th of February 1690 bequeathing, as a writer says, "to posterity a name and an administration whose character will ever remain enigmatical." Sir John Child died at Bombay, but where he is interred nobody knows. Sir John Wyborne also lies buried somewhere in the island of Bombay or its vicinity.

The last but one decade of the seventeenth century was thus noted for unpleasant deeds and disagreeable events in the internal affairs of Bombay, to which the invasion of the Sidi of Jinjira and the quarrels with the Portuguese lent additional distress and alarm.

The English during the last quarter of the seventeenth century were confronted with four enemies, *viz* :—the Moghals whose empire, though

mighty in appearance, was already on the verge of decay; the Maráthas, who, guided by the genius of Siváji, were destined to lead an almost ephemeral or meteoric existence; the Portuguese, whose vitality was already on the decline; and the Malabar pirates, whose lives from the very nature of their filibustering occupation were extremely precarious.

I need not describe here all the stirring incidents of this troublous and scandalous period. They have already been fully treated not only by Anderson but by many others. I shall therefore simply allude to those points which have not been referred to elsewhere.

The weakness of the four enemies of the Bombay settlement led the East India Company, under the guidance and advice of Sir Josia Child, brother of Sir John Child, the third Governor of Bombay after the transfer of the island to the Company, and whose family became extinct in 1784, to seek to acquire the political status of an independent power in their relations with the neighbouring potentates. From 1689 the Company began to consolidate its position in India on the basis of a territorial sovereignty. That was indeed a memorable year in which, like the 1789 of the Revolutionary France, a new régime was initiated in India replacing the mercantile by a national policy or as the Company states "that must make us a nation in India." And Sir Josia Child sealed this salutary maxim with these significant words "English dominion in India for all time to come," not unlike the consecrated formula of the copper-plate grants of the old Hindu kings "as long as the sun and the moon endure."

But unfortunately in this same year the recalcitrant Sidi or Saed of Jinjira began to pillage Bombay up to the very walls of the Castle. Jinjira is a petty State a few miles down the Coast, where there was an Abyssinian, or Habshi, as they call them in India, by name Sambal. He belonged to a semi-barbarous African race whom the Portuguese had early sought with extreme alacrity as the Christian subjects of Prester John, whom the Italians found only lately too tough to deal with, and whom the Mussulman princes of India used to invite to fight their battles by land and sea. When the natives of the country were themselves unwarlike it was necessary to import such martial elements. Foreign mercenaries were thus brought into India not only from Central Asia and Persia but also from Africa.

Sambal held the appointment of admiral to the Great Moghal and was in constant warfare with the Maráthas. In 1672 he anchored off Bombay with a fleet and requested the Bombay Government's permission to enter the harbour and ravage the districts belonging

to Sivâji. He also urged on them to form a league against Sivâji, but the latter vowed that in that case he would invade Bombay. The Sidi finding the dilemma perilous withdrew, not, however, without burning several houses at Mazagon. He returned the next year, when he landed at Sion, scared away the inhabitants, and occupied their houses.

In 1677-78 the successor of Sambal, Ali Kasim, returned to Bombay; his vessels were hauled ashore and the large ones moored near Mazagon, as if Bombay was his own property. Again, in 1680, Ali Kasim sailed with his fleet into the harbour and anchored off the Fort. But Sambhâji, who had succeeded his father Sivâji,—the latter having died about the beginning of April 1680,—was so annoyed at the protection afforded by the English to the Sidi that he threatened to invade Bombay. Sivâji had taken in 1679 possession of Kheneri, one of the twin islands at the mouth of the harbour, which the English coveted for mere defence, there being no fresh water in it. The English, with the assistance of the Sidi, attempted to eject the Maráthas when, as said above, Keigwin distinguished himself. As a counter movement Ali Kasim entrenched himself at Kheneri, and Sambhâji could not dislodge him. Meanwhile the Sidi quietly installed himself at Mazagon, and, the English not being strong enough to drive him out of the island, the Emperor had to issue an order to withdraw his forces, which was done. While this was going on Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who on the death of Sir John Child had become President of Surat, was a prisoner in irons in the hands of the Nawab of Surat. Mr. John Vaux had assumed the Deputy Governorship of Bombay and gone to Surat to obtain the *firman* which, says a writer, was "the most derogatory ever received at the hands of the Moghal; but painful as this was, it at least relieved the inhabitants of Bombay of the presence of the Sidi's people." *Miscellany*, p. 117. The English then wound up this series of tragic events by seizing all the lands and houses of the Portuguese at Parel, Máhim and elsewhere in the island, on the plea that they had aided the invasion of the Sidi.

In the meantime, in confirmation of the orders received in previous years, Bombay was made the supreme seat of Government and Surat was reduced to an agency entrusted to Mr. Bartholomew Harris. Bombay was then for the first time ascertained to be the "Key of India," and the Court ordered to make it "as strong as art and money could make it." We now, more correctly perhaps, call it the

"Gate of India." But about a quarter of a century ago, a local publicist, Mr. Robert Knight, had tried to prove that Bombay was the centre of the globe, which is certainly a great deal better than being the "Key" or the "Gate" of India. After the invasion of the Sidi, however, Sir John Child, duped by the Nawab of Surat on the one hand, and plundered by Ali Kasim on the other, was obliged to confess that "Bombay was not that important position which the Company was fairly led to assume."

In spite of this gloomy result, on the cessation of the intestinal commotions produced by the movements of the Sidi, the projects of building of a wharf and piers were revived, besides a dry dock where vessels might be repaired and careened, the establishment of a Marine Insurance Office to underwrite to the extent of £5,000 their three deckers at a premium of 5 per cent. upon ordinary risks, and a Post Office for receiving and forwarding letters. But Mr. Harris, thought it, under existing circumstances, more prudent to restrict himself to the due subordination of the garrison and to the collection of the revenue.

Amidst this constant misery there was besides an epidemic of the plague raging in the island in 1686, which continued for years throughout Western India. I have already described at length its ravages at Bassein and its neighbourhood at that time. Then the Portuguese were embittered against the English, not only by the results of the Sidi's expedition, but also by the seizure of their lands and houses.

On referring to the *Collecção de Tratados*, etc., by J. F. J. Biker, Vol. III., p. 160, one can find that the Government which succeeded the Viceroy D. Pedro de Almeida wrote to the Prince Regent on the 20th of January 1679, that the Governor of the Island of Bombay had allowed the officials of his Custom House to demand payment of duties of Xs. 100 on a Portuguese vessel belonging to the Port of Thána, loaded at Karanja, on the grounds of that port being within the jurisdiction of Bombay. Besides many other complaints, which the Government of Portuguese India thought to be contrary to the capitulations, they suggested that the best way to settle all disputes would be for the King of Portugal and the King of England each to nominate a representative who should come to some agreement and remove all doubts as to the exact terms of the capitulations.

In another letter the Portuguese Viceroy complained that the English had taken and refused to give up certain lands to which the priests laid claim in Bombay, on the pretence that they were not

bound by the capitulations, having conquered those lands anew. The King of Portugal wrote in reply to stop all supplies from reaching the English. "Experience has proved," wrote D. Pedro II., "on various occasions, when they have been denied supplies they have acted in all ways in a manner beneficial to our State, and the good of our vassals." *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

On the 19th of December 1695, the Viceroy, Count of Villa Verde, wrote to the King thus:—"These English, directly they become aware that we intend cutting off their supplies, suggest to the enemies that they make some demonstration against our territories, and this they generally do at a season before the crops are fit for gathering, when the inhabitants and vassals of Baçaim, frightened at the idea of war, and fearing they may lose their crops, send them to Bombay for safer custody and a better sale. Thus the British secure larger supplies than they require, and sell the surplus for high prices. This is not all the English do. They supply the enemy (the Arabs) with arms and ammunition, to the great danger of the State, which could scarcely defend itself against its Asiatic enemies."

To the above, the King sent on the 1st of March 1697, the following reply:—"Having noted what you write to me as regards the English in Bombay having sent the Arabs of Muscat powder, shot, and all other necessaries for the equipment of their ships, thus interfering with the peace negotiations which they contemplated entering into, in consequence of the losses inflicted them by our frigates in 1693, and that they, the Arabs, had carried the British flag and employed British captains in order to avoid seizure, and to be enabled to carry contraband goods; in reply to your question as to what action you are to take in such cases, I would say that at any time that any of our enemy's ships are encountered under the command of the English captains they should be seized. I would, however, recommend you to be cautious in these matters, and bear in mind the state of the weather and the forces at your disposal." Pombal MSS., 439 fol. 48; also "The Portuguese in India," Vol. II., p. 362.

Before closing the cycle of the infancy of Bombay under the British rule I may mention a remarkable event which is worth recording in connection with the Governorship of Gerald Aungier, the founder of the prosperity of Bombay. It was the sending of an English embassy from this city to Raygad, the original Rairi, which was then the Royal Fort of Siváji. This place was once known to early Europeans as the Gibraltar of the East, with the impregnable citadel standing on the

hill-top, situated about forty miles east of Jinjira, and backed by the lofty line of the Sahyádris.

Siváji began to enrich Raygad after the plunder of Surat in 1664, and having made it the seat of his government was solemnly enthroned there ten years later on the 6th of June 1674. The English embassy consisted of Henry Oxenden, brother of Sir George and of Christopher Oxenden, two of the early servants of the East India Company, and Deputy Governor of Bombay in 1670, and of two factors. They started from Bombay about the end of April of that year in a small sailing ship, stayed the night in a Roman Catholic Church outside the walls of the Portuguese city of Chaul, went in the afternoon to Upper Chaul and the day following resumed their journey, arriving at Ráygad about the beginning of May. Siváji was crowned in June with much splendour, the installation ceremony including the unusual function of his weighing against gold. His weight amounted to 16,000 pagodas, which sum was distributed among the Bráhman priests. As the average weight of a pagoda is 55 grains, it may be easy to calculate the full weight of this Napoleon of India, "short, of good proportions, smiling whenever he spoke, and of a quick and winning eye." It came to about 8st. or 112lbs. The English ambassadors remained there the three months of May, June and July, and then returned to Bombay, where the local chronicler, Dr. John Fryer, was taking notes of what was passing around him and refers to the embassy in his *New Account*, etc., at pp. 77-81.

The mention of Siváji in connection with Bombay induces me to attempt here a slight digression, which, is distantly connected with the main subject, carrying us from the field of practical annals into a region where speculation was rife about the origin of this "mountain rat," as Aurangzebe called him. It is not without interest, although it amounts to leaving for the moment the specific and categorical evidence of facts for the vague, abstract and general gossip of the times.

It is known that Siváji died in his fifty-third year of fever, brought on by the inflammation of his knee-joint, at Ráygad, on the 5th of April 1680. But his birth-place is still doubtful. Some of his biographers say that he was born in May 1627 at Sáoner, or Sheoner at Junar, then a petty jagir of his father's, about 40 miles from Puna. Thus he is said to have been born in a fort and to have died in a fort, an appropriate beginning and ending of a martial career. According to Orme, Siváji was born at Gingee (Jingi) in the Madras Presidency,

this place having been formerly the residence of a race of Marátha kings whose dominions extended to the borders of Tanjore.—*Hist. Frag.*, 6. 11. vol. I., p. 151.

But the most extraordinary account of Siváji's birth-place and of his parentage is that given by a Portuguese writer, probably a contemporary of the great Marátha warrior, who informs us that Siváji was born in the Bassein district, in the village of Virár, once the manor of a noble Portuguese family of the name of Menezes, who were connected with the Counts of Ericeira. This latter family gave one eminent Viceroy in two different periods to India, from 1717 to 1720, and again with the additional title of Marquis of Louriçal, from 1741 to 1742, in which year he died and was buried in the Church of Bom Jesus in Goa.

Virár is still a rich village. It lies about seven miles north of Bassein and thirty-eight north of Bombay. It has a railway station, and about fifty yards south of the station are the remains of a Roman Catholic Church, and on a knoll about a mile to the south stand the ruins of a notable Portuguese tower and fortified mansion, which probably belonged to the family of Dom Manoel de Menezes. Besides the above there were two other forts, one on a rocky hill, a little further east, and another about a mile to the north.

Before his coronation Siváji was declared to be a Rájput, being invested with the sacred thread. He derived his descent from a family of Bhonsles, who, like the great barons of the West, were defying alike the sovereign and the people, and whose principal residence was said to have been Verul or Ellora near Aurangabad. His grandfather, Máloji Bhonsla, had been ennobled by King Bahádur Nizam with the title of Rája in 1595, and enriched with the estates or *jágirs* of Puna and Supa and the charge of the forts and districts of Sheoner and Chákan, while his head-quarters were, as said above, at Ellora.

But the Bhonsles also claimed descent from a younger branch of the royal family of Udepur in Rájputána, being therefore older than the Mahomedan invasion of Devagiri in the Dekkan. Máloji's father was Bálji, who descended from Bhosáji. This man is said to have been the first of the family to settle in the Dekkan. Máloji's son Sháhaji married Jijibai, daughter of Jadhavrao, who also claimed descent from the Rájputs of the State of Maiwar in Rájputána, whose capital was then Chitore, Udepur not being founded until some time before the death of Akbar by Rána Pertab. According to Tod's *Rajasthan*, these Ránas trace their origin on one side to

the Gehlot Kings of Maiwar and to the Sassanian dynasty of Persia on the other. Prince Goha, who ruled in Vallabhi, the capital of his ancestors, had married a daughter of Naushirván, the Persian King, who was a grand-daughter of Maurice, the Christian Emperor of Constantinople, and mother of Rája Bapu; while another Rána had married Máha Bapu, the eldest daughter of Yezdegird, the last King of the Royal house of Sassan in Persia. Siváji is also said to have been connected with the so-called Sesodias, a tribe deriving their descent from a prince of Chittore, who on his expulsion from Saurashtra erected a town on a place of this name, or as a tradition says where he, after a hard chase, had killed a *sasa* or hare.

Thus Siváji had in his veins not only the Indian blood of the Rájputs of Maiwar, but also the Persian of the Sassanides and the European of the Byzantine Emperors of Constantinople.

Now comes another version, which makes of Siváji an Eurasian *pure sang*, or what, in parody of an ethnic designation that seems to be just now more in vogue and of higher estimate in India, *viz.*, Anglo-Indian, may appropriately be called a Luso-Indian.

A Portuguese writer, Cosme da Guarda, a native of Mormugão in Goa, who wrote a biography of Siváji and published it in Lisbon in 1730, describes Siváji's birthplace and his parentage as follows:— "The village of Virár, near the city of Bassein, lands of the Portuguese Crown, was the native country (*patria*) of Siváji. The lord of this village was Dom Manoel de Menezes, and it was said (*não faltou quem dissesse*) that Siváji was his son. Let the truth be what it may. The fact is that he was considered to be the youngest of the twelve sons of Sháhaji, Captain of Adil Khán, who died of old age, governing the kingdoms of Maduré, Tangan and Tinja." *See Vida e Acçoens do Famoso e Felicissimo Sevagy, da India Oriental*, etc. Could not Virár near Bassein have been suggested by Verul or Ellora near Aurangabad? Others say that Siváji was the second son of Sháhaji.

Among the opinions preceding the Licenses of the Holy Office for the printing and publication of this interesting book, there is one from the above-mentioned Conde da Ericeira as follows:—"I could well be interested," says the Count "in contradicting that one who was faithless to his God and to his King was not of the family of the Menezes, but whether he had this blood which gave him valour and military science, as has so often been experienced in Asia, training which is not seldom more powerful than nature could well have perverted other qualities which were never wanting to the true Menezes."

Siváji is perhaps the only Indian protentate whose genealogy has had so many varied sources, *viz.*, in Persia, Constantinople, Lisbon and Udepur. His physiognomy might perhaps have elucidated the point and solved the difficult problem of his true descent. But while Waring, in his *History of the Maráthas*, says, that he was dark, the English ambassadors from Bombay considered him to be fair in skin for a Marátha. Nevertheless, whether dark or fair, he was a very clever man, and his education, like that of another royal personage of the Yádava race, King Bukkaráya, who, three hundred years before Siváji, was confided to the care of a great Bráhman, Mádhava Vidyáranya, who helped him to found the once prosperous kingdom of Karnátaka, reigning gloriously in the splendid city of Vijáyanágara, was entrusted to another famous Bráhman preceptor, Dádáji Khondadev, whose share in the foundation of the Marátha Empire was as conspicuous, though less noisy, as that of several of his able ministers and generals. He brought him up as a zealous Hindu, giving special instructions on his death-bed for the growth and prosperity of the new native rule, and infusing into him an intense national enthusiasm in order to free the country from the Mahomedan yoke.

But to return to Bombay and its annals. There are several documents relating to this early period which are worth quoting. They give us an insight into the state of society and its feuds, the tension of feelings and the spirit of animosity that prevailed so long at that calamitous time between two European and Christian nations in their neighbouring settlements. But it is impossible to give them a full insertion here within the narrow compass of this monograph. The method of compression or of literary perspective renders the omission here of many of these important official or authentic documents, illustrative of that epoch and its events, absolutely necessary. I shall, however, make room for only three more of these documents, one of them being a letter from the Viceroy, Count of Lavradio, in reply to a letter from the King, dated the 23rd of March 1671, requesting by first monsoon a detailed statement of the values of the estates of private individuals in Bombay. This valuation was said to be required for the settlement of the account or of the payment of the second million of the dowry of the Queen of Great Britain as awarded or settled between the Envoy, Robert Southwell, and the Marquis of Niza and Marialva. In reply the Viceroy wrote that this information would require time to collect, and then added:—"The Governor and the Ministers of

His Majesty the King of England who are in Bombay, are most insolent; they are so exorbitant and their demands so vexatious that the inhabitants have been obliged to leave their homes and go to Bassein and Thána; and when they complain under the capitulations, they are simply told they must send their complaints to the King of England, as the port is his. They are making a large and opulent city of the island, and as those who go there are those with open consciences our places and towns are being deserted. If your Highness does not take steps to remedy these evils, all the revenues and commerce of these inhabitants will be extinct, and they will be reduced to the utmost poverty as is the case now in Chaul." *Tratados* III., p. 118; also *Report*, etc., *ut supra*, p. 70.

Insolent, exorbitant with vexatious demands and open consciences had once the Portuguese themselves been towards the natives of India, not by instinct, perhaps, but by the force of circumstances. So now the implacable Nemesis, *aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus*, wreaked her vengeance through the instrumentality of the English, just as the North Americans have done to the Spaniards in our own days, visiting their sins in the manner the Italian peasant with his vivid imagination has embodied in the familiar saying :—*la saetta gira, gira, torna adosso a chi la tira*, like an arrow which turns round and strikes the one who draws it. That is what the Indian philosophers have from time immemorial called the eternal law of *Karma*, a law that is inexorable, affecting equally nations as well as individuals.

The two remaining documents worth recording here are four proposals made by Gerald Aungier, Govêrnor of the Island of Bombay and President of the East India Company, under date the 29th of December 1672, to Luiz de Mendoça Furtado e Albuquerque, Count of Lavradio, Viceroy from the 22nd of May 1671 to the 30th of October 1677, and a letter from his successor the Viceroy Dom Pedro de Almeida to King Charles II.

The four proposals of Gerald Aungier are as follows :—

"1. On the part of the Company and the British Nation the said Gerald Aungier, Governor of Bombay, etc., undertakes conscientiously to observe and keep the articles of that happy peace which was ratified by the two Crowns in the year 1661, desiring also that the said Viceroy shall on his part, and on behalf of the King of Portugal do the same, and require the subjects of the Crown of Portugal to obey the said articles.

"2. Considering the interests of both nations to live in peace

and be united in bonds of greater friendship, that an alliance be made between them, whereby the said Gerald Aungier on the part of the Company and the Nation undertakes that the English shall assist the Portuguese in the event of their being at war against the Moghal, Siváji, or any other Princes of India, the Portuguese to do the same should the English require any assistance.

"3. In order to give the reciprocal friendship more force, it shall be permitted to the English to establish factories in all the cities, towns, and villages in territories belonging to the Portuguese Crown in those parts of India and Asia, paying such moderate duties as His Excellency the Viceroy shall deem reasonable, and which commerce shall permit, because the British shall prefer to establish themselves in Portuguese ports rather than in those of the Native States; it being understood, of course, that the Portuguese Nation shall be permitted to trade with the English ports, and pay the same duties as shall be paid by the English at Portuguese ports.

"4. That no duties be charged on imports excepting at the port of arrival and landing, and that they be free to all tolls over rivers, bridges, etc., and that punishment be meted out to the Mandovis of Thána and Karanja for their unbearable insolence, and the exorbitant duties and taxes which they arbitrarily impose on the subjects of His Majesty the King of England, who shall be allowed to pass and repass, without hindrance, the rivers, etc., it being understood that the Portuguesé shall enjoy the same privileges in the Port of Bombay, where they shall move freely and pay no duties or taxes excepting when their goods are landed." *Tratados*, T. III., p. 133. Also *Report*, etc. *ut supra*, p. 71, and *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II., pp. 358-359.

These proposals were sent by the Viceroy to the Prince Regent of Portugal, advising not to agree to them, while pointing out the advantages to the Portuguese Crown and the inhabitants of the north of the purchase of the port of Bombay, which, although having only a revenue in *foros* of 7,000 pardaos, would relieve all the northern settlements from oppression.

The second document, which is repeated here in order to preserve the chronological order of events, is the reply from the Viceroy Dom Pedro de Almeida to a letter from King Charles II., addressed to the Count of Sarradio, his predecessor. This letter was dated the 10th of March 1677, and the reply bears the date of the 11th of November of that year.

"The Conde de Lavradio," says the Viceroy, "whom I have succeeded as Viceroy, has handed me the letter your Majesty was pleased

to address to him, regarding the question of the Mandovis of Karanja and Thána. The Moors give the name of Mandovis to what we call Custom Houses. Karanja was always the Custom House of the whole *terra firma*, and Thána of the part of Kalyána and Bhiwundi (written, Galliana and Bumdi) *terra firma* of the Moors, and Bombay of the district where everyone pays taxes in the form of the ancient *foros* of the time of the Moorish dominion; and, as the vassals of the Prince, my master, are not exempt from the payment of duties in Bombay, it does not seem right that the vassals of your Majesty should be exempt from paying duties in my Prince's dominions. As regards the 'passes,' we issue them to the Moors and Natives in the usual form." *Tratados*, T. III., pp. 143 and 148. Also *Report*, etc., p. 72; *The Portuguese in India*, p. 360.

The Count of Lavradio left India, as said above, on the 30th of October 1877. His successor Dom Pedro deAlmeida arrived in India as Viceroy on the 28th of October 1677, and on the 27th of January 1678 sailed in a fleet to help the garrison of Mombassa, besieged by the Arabs. He died at Mozambique on the 22nd of March of the following year.

The next incident in connection with the history of the last quarter of the seventeenth century in Bombay was the extreme unhealthiness of the Island. It was no longer the "island of the pleasant life" "*a ilha da boa vida*," the soldiers of Heitor da Silveira had found it to be. On the contrary, it had gained the unenviable notoriety of being "the cemetery of the Europeans," a perfect charnel-house, where three years was said to be the average duration of European life. When the last of the Sidis, Jakub, had left Bombay, a pestilence came in his rear. It is said that of 800 Englishmen who inhabited the island only about sixty were spared by the sword and plague. Two early visitors, a physician and a clergyman, both of them very competent authorities, from their personal experience at the bedside and the churchyard, have left us some sad descriptions of the unhealthiness of Bombay during that period. First, Dr. John Fryer, who tells us that his medical services were in constant requisition in 1673, not only in Bombay, but also in Bassein, where João Mendes sent for him to attend his only daughter, a handsome girl, engaged to marry with the Portuguese Admiral of the North. Second, the Chaplain the Rev. John Ovington, in 1689, who says that one of the pleasantest spots in India seemed no more than a parish graveyard, where his services were also in constant requisition.

The Rev. John Ovington, who sailed from Gravesend on board the "Benjamin" to Surat on the 11th of April 1689 and wrote his "Voyage to Surat in the year 1689," says:—"We arrived in Bombay before the beginning of the rains, and buried of the twenty-four passengers which we brought with us ashore, twenty before the rains here ended, and of our ship's company above fifteen." He then adds:—"As the ancients gave the epithet of Fortunate to some islands in the West, because of their delightfulness and health, so the moderns may, in opposition to them, denominate Bombay the Unfortunate one in the East, because of the antipathy it bears to those two qualities."

Again, Captain Alexander Hamilton, who spent some time in India from 1688 to 1723, writing of this island in this *New Account*, etc., says:—"Bombay, that was one of the pleasantest places in India, was brought to be one of the most dismal deserts."

Karsten Niebuhr, father of the historian, who was in Bombay as late as 1764, says in his *Voyage en Arabie*, etc., that the English died rapidly in Bombay, because they ate pig and beef and drank the strong wines of Portugal, and wore tight clothes.

Thus from the time of Dr. Fryer in 1673, Ovington in 1689, Hamilton from 1688 to 1723, and Niebuhr in 1764, Bombay had acquired an evil reputation, until the Abbé Raynal in his *Histoire Philosophique des deux Indes* in 1778, summed up the prevailing opinion that Bombay, for some time before he wrote, had become an object of general horror, no man caring to live in an island so unhealthy as to create a proverb among the English here that "two monsoons were the age of a man." The Abbé Raynal then adds:—'The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoanut trees; it was with stinking fish that the trees were dunged and the coasts corrupted with infectious fevers."

But about the beginning of the present century, the good name of Bombay was most happily rising again. Captain Basil Hall, who was here in 1812, in his *Fragments*, etc., published in 1832, says:—"Of all places in the whole range of countries so happily called the Eastern world . . . . there are few which can compare with Bombay." Elsewhere he writes:—"I have only once more to repeat, that he who wishes to see all, which the Eastern world affords, that is characteristic in the dress, language, or manners of the Asiatic nations, in the shortest time, and at the least expense of money or trouble, has only to make a run to Bombay, and if, on arriving there,

he be not gratified far beyond his expectations, he must, to use a common phrase, be very hard to please."

Another writer, the Rev. Richard Cobbe, the Chaplain, whose very rare work "*Bombay Church : or true account of the building and finishing the English Church at Bombay, in the East Indies,*" was published in 1766, and a copy of which I have before me, in his description of the island considers it to be pleasant, and although "the climate was comfortably warm before the monsoons, it was so much healthier than it had previously been that with a little care and caution one might live as well here as in England." But between the sketches of Bombay drawn in such sombre colours by Dr. Fryer, who said—"In 500, 100 survive not; of that 100, one quarter gets no estate; of those that do, it has not been recorded above one in ten years has seen his country," and by the Rev. John Ovington, who wrote, "But the corruption of the air has a more visible and immediate effect upon young English infants, so that not one of twenty of them live to maturity or even beyond their infant days," on the one hand, and the enthusiastic accounts of Basil Hall and the Rev. Richard Cobbe on the other, we have the sober and temperate judgment of Sir James Mackintosh, who was in Bombay from 1804 to 1811. Although he admired the picturesque beauty of the island, its varied wooded surface, and its wide island-studded bay, still, like Lord Valentia in 1804, he regarded the Bombay climate as somewhat depressing. He writes :—"Our climate may be endured, but I feel that by its constant though silent operation existence is rendered less joyous, and even less comfortable. I see around me no extraordinary prevalence of disease, but I see no vigorous, cheerful health."

With regard to the manners and morals of the period, P. Anderson in his "*English in Western India,*" says :—"Immorality and dissoluteness were of the deepest dye, and added force to the assaults of the unhealthy climate. One who had been an eye-witness said after he had left Bombay, "I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Their principles of action, and the consequent evil practices of the English, forwarded their miseries, and contributed to fill the air with those pestilential vapours that seized their vitals, and speeded their hasty passage to the other world. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissolution of manners, found still new matter to work upon." All kinds of vice were in the superlative degree, and the most detestable sins were indulged into our almost unlimited extent.

Nor were individuals of the gentler sex such as could soften the hearts and elevate the minds of their husbands. "The Indian market" for ladies is now but an historical tradition; but at the close of the seventeenth century it was beginning to be a fact and a reality. Women avowedly went there to gain husbands. The article when thus imported was finished in the most approved style; but as savages attach most value to beads and looking glasses, so the Factors did not look to solid acquirements or even accomplishments in their brides. "A modest garb and mien," we are assured, "were all that was required, and if a lady could display these, she soon obtained the hand of some rich merchant." p. 130.

Elsewhere he writes:—"At Surat and Bombay the grossest immorality prevailed in both high and low places, although the lives of the Presidents were irreproachable." p. 97.

While this state of things was going on Nature unchained over Bombay one of those storms, which are not infrequent on this coast. It was not one of those big hurricanes which, as I have said above, visit the island once every century, but a minor phenomenon, of which we have had several instances during the course of the last and present centuries. "On the 30th of September 1696 Bombay was visited by a hard gust of wind from the east and south-east with thunder lightning and some rain. The rain not proportionate to the want there is of it. The strength of the gust continued not above half-an-hour and did no harm." *Materials*, etc., Part I., p. 111.

Many such storms are mentioned in the last and present centuries. On the 3rd of November 1783, there was one which is said to have been fatal to every ship within its reach. On the same date in 1799, H. M.'s ship "Resolution" with about 1,000 small craft and 400 lives were lost in the Bombay harbour. On the 15th of June 1837, there was destruction of property and shipping in the harbour of the value of 9½ lakhs of rupees, and 400 native houses were destroyed. On the 2nd of November 1854, one thousand human beings and half-a-million's worth of property was supposed to have perished in four hours' time. See *Bombay Geograph. Soc. Trans.*, Vol. XV., p. 78.

Then there were the pirates, both Natives and Europeans. It is recorded that "the excesses of the European pirates by whom the Indian Ocean was at this time infested reached a climax in the robbery in 1695 of the Moghal pilgrim ship 'Gunsway' and other Moghal vessels." *Materials, ut supra*, p. 111.

And there was, besides, in the town the constant alarm not only of

French designs, but also of the unlooked-for appearance of a Danish Fleet. Early in 1687 this Fleet appeared off the Thána Coast and caused considerable anxiety in Bombay. On the 24th of March, the Bombay Council wrote to the Commander of the Danish ships:—"We desire you, as you are our friends by reason of the near alliance of the two crowns of England and Denmark, that you would not cruise too near our island, it being a great hindrance to our trade, our merchants being fearful of going to sea whilst you lie so near." *Ibid.*, p. 98.

The following are some of the chief events at the end of the last decade of the seventeenth century in the annals of Bombay. As a summary they are very meagre, considering the extent and wealth of the materials at our disposal; but the space is unfortunately too circumscribed for more minute details.

Mr. Harris and the other Factors being released from prison on the 4th of April 1690, and the Sidi, after the property captured by the English had been restored and the fine paid to the Moghal, having withdrawn his army on the 22nd of June, not without setting fire, however, to the Fort of Mazagon, William and Mary were the same day proclaimed in Bombay King and Queen of England.

On the death of Sir John Child in 1690, Mr. Harris succeeded him as Governor of Bombay. During his administration official information was received that England had declared war against France. A new charter had been granted to the London East India Company (5 William and Mary), dated the 7th of October 1693, and an additional charter of the same reign on the 11th of November, when the Court of Directors were contemplating the annihilation of a lately established rival Company, the English East India Company. This new Joint Stock Company was formed by London merchants who were discontented with the monopoly granted to the old Company. Still the old Company had influential supporters, and the servants of the two companies had made India the arena of a fierce struggle for commercial success.

In the meantime, on the death of Mr. Harris, which took place at Surat on the 10th of May 1695, Sir John Gayer was nominated Governor of Bombay. He arrived a week afterwards, resolved upon rendering Bombay the entrepôt of English trade in Western India. His Government was much troubled with the depredation of Kydd, and other freebooters. The continued piratical captures of vessels had raised at last the ire of the Native Governments who had placed an embargo upon the European factories. The future masters

of India had, however, the diplomatic tact to bend themselves, when necessary, to the will of the native potentates in order to gain their chief object. "Sure dominion in India for all time to come," as Sir Josia Child had said, or as the resolution of the Company for the guidance of the local Governments put it:—"That must make us a nation in India," were the current maxims of the time. All this untimely swagger had, nevertheless, such a disheartening effect upon Sir John Gayer that he asked the Court's permission to resign their service in 1699.

Thus closes the period of the first thirty-five years of the British rule in Bombay. I shall end it by giving below a list of all the Governors and Deputy Governors of Bombay, up to date, in their chronological order as follows :—

ROYAL GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY.

1662. Sir Abraham Shipman. Appointed in March. He never governed. Died at the island of Angediva.

1665. Humfrey or Humphrey Cooke, who was Secretary to Sir A. Shipman, assumed the Government in February. Was soon dismissed. Escaped to Goa, and there with the assistance of the Jesuits organized a levy for the capture of Bombay. He was proclaimed a traitor in 1668.

1666. Sir Gervase Lucas. Arrived on the 5th of November. He threw Mr. H. Cooke into prison for extortion and speculation. Died at Bombay.

1667-1668. Captain Henry Garey or Gary officiated from the 21st of May, and delivered over the island to the Company on the 23rd of September 1668. He obtained a seat in Council, and afterwards was Judge of the Island.

COMPANY'S GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY.

1668-1669. Sir George Oxenden. Assumed the Government on the 5th of January 1669. He defended the English factory when Surat was pillaged by Sivâji. Died at Surat, where his mausoleum, recording that he was *vir sanguinis splendore*, still exists.

1669. Gerald Aungier. Commenced to govern on the 14th of July. Died at Surat on the 30th of June 1677.

1682. Sir John Child, Bart. Began on the 19th of January. Died at Bombay, on the 9th of February 1690.

1683. Captain Richard Keigwin. Held the reins of the Government of the island by a mutinous revolt, with the employment of the King's name from the 27th of December 1683 to the 19th of Novem-

ber 1684, when Sir John Child's supremacy was again recognised. Keigwin surrendered, and sailed to England in 1685, with Sir Thomas Grantham.

1690. Bartholomew Harris. Began to govern on the 14th of February. Died at Surat, on 10th of May 1695.

1694. Sir John Gayer, Kt., with the revised title of General, succeeded Mr. Harris in the Government of Bombay, about the middle of May 1695 and continued to govern until the beginning of the next century.

COMPANY'S DEPUTY GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY.

1668. Captain Henry Young. He was re-called to Surat, resigning his office on the 13th of November 1669.

1670. Mathew Gray. Afterwards second member of the Council of Surat.

1670. Phillip Gifford. Died at Bombay, in 1676.

1676. Henry Oxenden. Died also at Bombay.

1682. Charles Ward. He was seized and confined by Keigwin. His daughter and niece of Sir John Child, married to Sir John Gayer's son, was with a Schoolmaster named Coleman the object of a *cause célèbre* in Bombay.

1683. Keigwin's revolt.

1684. Charles Zinzan. Afterwards dismissed.

1686. Sir John Wyburn or Wyborne. He was also Vice-Admiral and second in Council. He was dismissed, and died shortly afterwards in 1688.

1689. John Vaux. He was drowned in the Surat river. He had formerly been a book-keeper for Sir Josia Child. Was nominated second Judge, the first being Dr. St. John. Vaux was accused of treason. On the 11th of October 1692 the "Elizabeth," East India man was captured within fifty leagues of Bombay by a French fleet. Vaux purchased the "Elizabeth" from them.

1689. George Cooke. Died at Bombay.

1690. George Weldon. Married Sir John Child's widow.

1690. Samuel Burniston. Died at Bombay in 1704.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LATER BRITISH PERIOD.

The beginning of the 18th century witnessed a strange scene of diplomatic antagonism in Bombay. On the 11th of January 1700, Sir Nicholas Waite, the President in Surat of the rival English

Company, landed here and obtained an interview with Sir John Gayer. On that occasion he communicated that his appointment as Consul General for the English in the East would require implicit obedience to his orders. Sir John Gayer held out and denied his right to interfere with the London Company's servants. Sir Nicholas then went to Surat, where Mr. Stephen Colt, who had succeeded the President Mr. Annesly, on his dismissal, met his claims with the same refusal. The determination of the Presidents of the rival companies to maintain absolute sway in their respective spheres promoted animosities and scuffles among their own countrymen to the great scandal and amusement of the news-mongering natives.

Sir William Norris, who was sent out by the new company as their Ambassador, left Surat on the 27th of January 1701, attended by a suite of 60 Europeans and 300 natives, his intention being to visit the Moghal Emperor's camp at Panála. His presents are said to have been fairer and more valuable than those of Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador of James I. to the Court of the Emperor Jehángir at Agra in 1615, but his personal qualifications had not fitted him for so delicate a mission. He had neither the coolness nor the decision necessary to render diplomacy successful. His presence at Surat had been the signal for squabbles and mutual infliction of injuries. Nor did his departure remove the bone of contention between the two rival companies.

Aurangzebe being a Musulman fanatic wanted to have the opinion of a priest in a matter so absolutely beyond the knowdedge of the Mahomedan priesthood. So he commissioned a Mula, by name Sayed Sedula at Surat, to find out which was the real English Company. While the Mula was reflecting on this hard problem beyond his reach, Sir Nicholas Waite was calculating that a present of Rs. 10,000 would enable him to gain the Moghal's favour. In the meantime Sir John Gayer and Mr. Colt were made prisoners at Surat, and not released until the 28th of February 1701.

Amidst these dramatic events there arose in the following year another disaster from Nature. One of those small storms which seldom fail to visit Bombay made its appearance here on the 30th of November 1702. The Bombay Government then issued the following orders to Lieut. Shaw :—"All the Right Honourable Company's mango and such like trees blown down in the late hurricane, you are to take under your care preserving for the Company's use such part of them as may be fit for timber. The rest we would have you sell

to the chunam makers at the best rate you can, it being good wood for their use." *Materials*, etc., Pt. I., p. 139.

It is by taking care of small things that the great things naturally take care of themselves. And the practice of this wholesome precept has certainly enabled the Government of Bombay to promote the growth and prosperity of this city. About a fortnight later the following order was issued:—"Sell what you can of the Right Honourable Company's palmeers that were blown down; also of the jack trees that are not fit for plank, but such as are, preserve for that use." *Ibid.*

The records for the year 1702, contain also notices of two incidents of some interest—the improvement of the fort at Máhim in June, and the celebration of the accession of Queen Anne, on the 4th of November 1702. This event was proclaimed in the morning at Máhim, by the militia and all the garrison soldiers being under arms, and all the eminent merchants and inhabitants of the Cassaby (Kasbá) assembled. After the proclamation was read, three hussaees (hurrahs), were given, the militia firing three volleys followed by the discharge of many great guns as they conveniently could. In the evening they performed the usual solemnity for the day by making a bonfire. *Ibid.*

Now took place one of the most remarkable events in the history of British India—the happy union of the two rival Companies. Notice of this union was issued in London on the 1st of January 1702, but did not reach Surat until December 1702. In spite of the advantages thus secured affairs were not prosperous, and life in Bombay did not seem to have been by any means agreeable. In the beginning of the year 1706, Sir Nicholas Waite writes to the Court, thus:—"We are only eight covenant servants including the Council and but two that write, besides two raw youths taken ashore out of ships, and most of us often sick in this unhealthful, depopulated and ruined island." On the 18th of April of the same year, he continues:—"We are seven on the island and some of us greatly indisposed, and but six commission officers two of which often sick, and under forty English sentinels, a particular true state of Bombay." Again on the 9th of May, he writes:—"It is morally impossible without an overruling Providence to continue longer from going under ground if we have not a large assistance." And on the 23rd January 1707, he adds:—"My continued indisposition and want of assistance in this unveryhealthful island has been laid before the managers and your Court. Yet I esteem myself bound in gratitude and I will briefly inform what material

occurs till I leave this place or the world." *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43. He was evidently suffering from the spleen. The epithet "unveryhealthful" applied to the island is not quite clear. It might have been a term used to express the extreme wretchedness of the climate.

One of the reasons for this unfortunate condition of Bombay is said to have been the mere formal union of the Companies since 1702. Though hidden from outward view, discord and rivalry continued fresh and active between the two Companies from the private interests of their servants being for several years opposed. Though formal amalgamation took place in 1702, under an Indenture tri-partite between the Queen Anne and the amalgamating associations, opposing interests were not welded together until the year 1708, when on the 29th of September the two companies became in fact "The United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies," upon the basis of the Charter of 1693, when it was renewed a second time for twenty-one years. But the East India Company was not organised in England for the Political Government of British possessions in India till the year 1711, and five years later important privileges were granted by the Moghal Emperor and eighty-three tons of merchandise purchased.

Previous to this, while Sir John Gayer and Mr. Annesley were at Surat under the Navab's espionage, the island was again threatened by the Sidi and the Maráthas. Besides, the hurricane had destroyed not only the growing crop of grain on land, but had also wrecked a large portion of the local marine, while the pestilence overran Bombay and reduced its population. At the date of the transfer of the island from the King to the Company in 1668, the population was estimated at ten thousand souls "the out-casts of all sects." Dr. Fryer estimated it at the time he visited Bombay in 1673, at 60,000 souls "most of them fugitives and vagabonds." Now and a little later it had been reduced to nearly one-fourth of the above. A letter from the Rev. Mr. Richard Cobbe, the first clergyman appointed to Bombay, to the Bishop of London, dated the 5th of October 1715, reckons the number of the inhabitants of the island, including the English, only 16,000.

Independently of the embarrassed state of the affairs in 1700 to 1708, there was the prospect of a civil war in the Moghal Empire on the death of Aurangzebe in 1707 which exposed the Europeans to constant alarms, and on this account Bombay was constantly menaced with invasion by the Sidi and the Maráthas.

On the death of Aurangzebe, again, after a reign of upwards of 50 years, commenced those internal troubles which gradually broke up the great Moghal Empire, eventually falling into rapid decay. Most of the provinces, such as Oudh, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, the Carnatic, Hydrabad, which was soon to be usurped by Nizam-ul-Mulk, Azet Khan, in 1717, the Panjáb, Rájputána and Rohilcund had now become virtually independent. And this disturbed and dissolving state of India led the way not only for the conquests of the Honourable East India Company, but was also followed by the invasion of Nadir Sháh in 1739, when Báji Ráo, the second Marátha Peishwa, at the head of the whole power of the Deckan, marched to the relief of Dehli, to be in his turn overthrown by Ahmad Sháh Durani, on the memorable plains of Panipat in 1761.

This was, indeed, a fine opportunity with splendid prospects for a young, powerful and energetic nation to step in amidst this *charivari* of the undisciplined and decrepit potentates of India and realize the dream of Sir Josia Child—"the foundation of a large, well grounded, sure dominion in India for all time to come." And opportunities, like success, only come to those who know how to wait.

But war being waged at the time in Europe, the Company was prevented from obtaining the assistance they had desired to be sent to the East both to extirpate those daring marauders of the Indian seas—the Muscat Arabs—and to maintain more efficiently the fortifications of the Bombay garrison by the increased supply of European troops.

Before proceeding with the narrative, it would perhaps be conducive to the better elucidation of the events now crowding in great abundance and complexity, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, to cast a retrospective glance at the main features of Bombay and its situation in the arena of international politics of the time. We have already seen above how King Charles II. by letters patent, dated the 27th of March 1668, had transferred the island to the London East India Company in perpetuity, "with all the rights, profits, and territories thereof in as full a manner as the King himself possessed them, by virtue of the treaty with the King of Portugal by which the island was ceded to his Majesty, to be held by the Company of the King, in free and common soccage, as of the Manor of the East Greenwich, on payment of the annual rent of £10 in gold on the 30th of September in each year." It was then said that the sole reason for this transfer was that the revenues of the island were not equal to

the expense incurred in retaining it, but we know now that there were other reasons of a political and commercial character which have already been mentioned above.

We have also remarked how, on the 28th of September 1668, the island was delivered to the Company's servants, and exertions were made to put it in a state of defence and to encourage settlers; for it was then literally a barren rock, presenting no encouragement to agriculture, although its commercial and maritime advantages were great. But in 1673 the island from almost a desert had been made the centre of the Company's trade, protected by strong fortifications, having upwards of 100 pieces of cannon mounted and a sufficient garrison. In 1678 the Company, finding the charges of the establishment too heavy, had adopted an economical system of reducing the salaries and lowering the rank of their military officers which occasioned not only much discontent but also, on the 27th of December 1683, a revolt which threatened serious consequences to the Company's affairs. Captain Richard Keigwin, who commanded the garrison and was the third member of the Council, seized the deputy Governor and some members of the Council, assembled the troops and militia, and annulled the authority of the Company by proclamation, declaring the island to be under the King's protection. The inhabitants were required to take the oaths of allegiance to the King, and in a short time the whole of the garrison, militia and the inhabitants renounced their obedience to the Company. And it was not till the 10th of November 1684 that vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Grantham arrived from Surat and demanded a conference with Captain Keigwin, the result being that he delivered up the Fort to him, the island being formally surrendered on the 19th of November, when he sailed, as said above, to England.

Fifteen years before this, in 1668, the Company had published a statement of their trade, and speaking of Bombay, said:—"that, by means of their Isle of Bombay, they had brought thither the principal part of the trade of Surat, where from 4,000 families, computed when the Company took possession of it, they are since increased to 50,000 families, all subject to the Company's laws; that the Company had made a most successful war with the Mogul, and brought him to reasonable terms, confirmed by that Prince's own phirmaund (*firman*) and secured by a strong garrison at Bombay, which being one of the best ports in India, and lying so near Surat, the great emporium of the Indian trade to Arabia, Persia, Bussorah, and the Red Sea, if the

English trade had not been brought thither to load home, and not at the river of Surat as formerly, it would not have been near so beneficial." See W. Milburn's *Oriental Commerce*, etc., Lond. 1813, vol. I., p. 173.

But this bright aspect of Bombay was soon followed by a disordered state of the old Company's affairs, the crimes and delinquencies of their Factors, and the intemperate use which their Presidents and Governors made of their authority, to which may be added the arrival on the 16th of November 1699 of two fresh disturbers of the Factory's peace in Surat, Messrs. Mense and Brooke, who announced themselves as Factors of the new Company. But the materials relating to these events are so vast that I need but summarise or abridge as much as possible all the details which will be found scattered in Anderson's *English in Western India* and other more recent works.

At last Sir Nicholas Waite, who had formerly been the London Company's Agent at Bentham, made his appearance on the ship "Montague."

He proceeded by land from Surat to Bassein, where he embarked in a native craft for Bombay, landing here on the 11th of January 1700. But Sir John Gayer refused to recognise him, so he left soon for Surat again. Then he returned and landed once more on the island in November 1704, and finding that Mr. Burniston had died, appointed Mr. William Aislabie the Deputy Governor of Bombay. Towards the end of the year, Bombay was threatened with the prospect of another attack from the Moghal. Great alarm was created in Bombay when the inhabitants heard that a Mussulman force was laying siege to Singhar, which was only five marches distant. The Maráthas were almost as much feared as the Moghals. Although Siváji was dead, yet the terror of his name survived. Kanoji Angriá was harrassing the English with his ships, and was described as another Siváji or Marátha pirate. To these enemies were now added the Arab corsairs from Muscat, causing great annoyance to the inhabitants of Bombay.

Sir N. Waite found Bombay to be a "beggarly, ruined, but fertile island." Still the tobacco farm was yielding 17,000 xerafins more than at the time of the transfer of the island, and the arrack farm yielded 5,000 xerafins. "But in 1707 both the tobacco and arrack farms fell in value, and as no one would take them at a fair price agents were employed instead of contractors." Sir N. Waite collected all the moveable property and monies of the Company, and

deposited them in the Castle. He had written in 1704 to the Court on the necessity of having a wall around the town, for the better security of its inhabitants and to defend the harbour against the petty pirates. On Sir N. Waite being recalled, Mr. Aislabie was appointed Governor of Bombay. He happily succeeded in pacifying the bitter feuds and feelings of the two contending parties, whom his predecessor had attempted to unite in vain.

Excepting the island of Bombay, which was then the only British possession in Western India, all the rest, at the end of the first decade of the 18th century, was but mere factories, which were, however, strongly built houses. This state of things continued for nearly forty years afterwards, when it was arranged that there should be three Presidencies in India, *viz.*:—at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. A Governor and a Council were appointed for Bombay, the Council consisting of the officers in command of the troops and of the several chiefs of the factories subordinate to this Presidency.

Thus with the union of the two rival Companies during the first decade of the 18th century closes the remarkable period that was ushered in by animosity, faction and assaults of various enemies, and begins the era of true growth and progress of Bombay. The following is the list of the Governors and Deputy Governors of Bombay from the time Sir John Gayer was confined in 1704. Sir Nicholas Waite assumed charge of office in November 1704 and made it over to Mr. William Aislabie, who, on the death of Mr. Samuel Burniston, had been appointed Deputy Governor from 1704-1708. He assumed charge of office in September 1708 and made it over in 1715 to the Deputy Governor, Mr. Stephen Strutt, who officiated as Governor until the arrival of Mr. Charles Boone in 1716, when a new epoch dawned for the prosperity of Bombay. Under Gayer, Waite and Aislabie—that is, from 1694 to 1715 Bombay Governors held the title of General.

In the meantime two new European commercial rivals appeared on the scene, an association of Scotchmen and a Company of the Ostenders; but these interlopers, as they were called, from 1717 to 1720, were soon disposed of. According to a contemporary writer, the Rev. Richard Cobbe, the population of Bombay was then 16,000, for the support of which the ground produced only rice, few vegetables, and the fruit and juice of palm-trees. But provisions were easily imported from Surat, much arrack was consumed, and wine of Shiraz was a great luxury. Still diseases occasionally became epidemic,

which was attributed to exhalations from the putrid fish or *koot*, with which the lands were manured.

The distinguishing topographical features of Bombay were then the same as they are at present—the same deep capacious harbour with its narrow channel, but safe for well-trained pilots, and the same false harbour of Back-Bay, whose semi-circular shape suggests a comparison with the Bay of Naples, although one of the old Governors of Bombay, Sir John Malcom, used to say that in natural beauty the Bay of Naples and its vicinity were not so striking as either Corfu or Bombay.

But a still more remarkable similarity in shape than the one noted between Bombay and Naples has been observed between the two countries. The parallelism between India and Italy is, indeed, very striking. The Himalayas are repeated in the Alps as the Indus and the Ganges in the Rhone and the Po; Karachi being analogous to Genoa, as Calcutta is to Venice, Dehli to Milan and Bombay of Naples; while Ceylon resembles Sicily; and the Laccadive and Maldive Islands are but the mountain peaks of submerged islands corresponding to Corsica and Sardinia.

What is still more remarkable is the allusion found in the Rámáyana and the Æneid to the Straits that separate the two peninsulas from their respective southern islands. The references to the Scylla and Charybdis by Virgil and to the Ráma's bridge by Valmiki are two parallel passages in the Sanskrit and Latin epics which appear to suggest another curious analogy in the domain of poetry.

And if we pass from the peninsulas and islands of Italy and India on to the main features of the coast lines of Asia and Europe, a similar coincidence although on a smaller scale has also been remarked.

The peninsula of Arabia is repeated in the Iberian peninsula; Asia Minor and Persia in France; India in Italy; Burma, Siam, Assam, and the Eastern Archipelago in Turkey, Greece and the Grecian Archipelago; the Chinese Empire in Russia; and Japan in the British Isles, the Flowery Islands being symmetrically placed at the East of the Euro-Asian Continent just as Great Britain and Ireland at the West. A striking parallelism has also been noted in the character of these opposite nations of the old world—the Persians, for instance, are said to be the French of the East, while the Japanese are called the British of Asia, and so on as far as the apparent resemblances go.

But to return to Bombay. The false harbour of Back Bay offered

for a long time a tempting line to inexperienced mariners. There were then the same Eastern hills and other general outlines of scenery as are described by modern travellers, who are struck by the appearance of the island when approached from the sea. But all the rest has changed within the present century.

During the period we are considering there was no Prongs-light-house nor the low barracks of Colaba and its villas, with struggling specimens of the cocoanut palms. Neither the eyrie seated dwellings of Malabar and Camballa Hills; nor the spire of St. Andrew's Kirk; neither the steeples of St. John's Church at Colaba and of St. Thomas's Cathedral in the Fort; nor the University Tower were then visible. But there were the same flat plains, the large tracts of land, below the level of high-water mark, slightly relieved by low and narrow ridges of the trappean rock.

These ridges ran from the old Santa Cruz village, near the Hancock bridge and Verzey or Nowroji Hill with the Mazagon Mount eastwards. The range of Tardeo and Malabar Hills ran westwards, and then a parallel yet independent line rose gently from the Love-grove Hermitage northwards. Of these two unequal ranges, running nearly parallel at the distance of about three miles from each other, the western was little more than five miles long, and the eastern, exclusive of Colaba, might exceed eight in length. The rest was a plain about three miles across and four long. The whole area of the island was about sixteen square miles. It was composed of irregular patches of whinstone rock, the two larger ranges running parallel at a distance of nearly three miles apart. The soil was a marine formation, sandy and unarable, its chief productions being cocoanuts and rice. But of the geological formation of the island full details will be given hereafter when treating of the "Immersed Forest of Bombay," in the Appendix.

The Fort stood then as now on the south-eastern extremity of the island, on a narrow neck of land formed by Back Bay on the western side, and by the harbour on the eastern, nearly six miles distant from the Varlí shrines at the north-western end of the island. A cocoanut wood covered the Esplanade and the Fort down to the channel between Bombay and Colaba. At that time Máhim was the principal town, and the few houses in the Fort were interspersed among the cocoanut palms, with the exception of those built at the Dungarí Hill, adjoining the harbour, which were occupied by fishermen.

Again, about the time we are considering, there was the indented line extending from where the Lunatic Asylum now is at Colaba to the verge of the estuary which breaks in between Máhim and Bandora. The cocoanut plantations not only stretched along the shore, as some of them do even now although sparsely, from Back Bay to Mahálakśmí, but covered a great part of the present native town, besides the Esplanade and the Fort. Between Mahálakśmí and Varlí the sea swept beneath the Siu or Sion causeway into Bombay harbour to the east of the island, drowning the land which has since been reclaimed by the construction of the solid causeway built by Governor Duncan in 1805 and the railway embankment between Sion and Kurlá on the south-eastern extremity of the island of Sálsette.

Between the famous Moslem hermitage on the southern extremity of Love Grove Hill and the pinnacled Hindu temple of Mahálakśmí the sea poured in through the wide breach of land across what are now called Byculla Flats. Then across what is called Bellasis Road, and thence to Grant Road, the sea invaded nearly the whole of Khetvadi, its waters sweeping through Duncan Road onwards through the Bhendí Bazar, to the spot where a slight elevation occurs upon the road, in the vicinity of the great metal market of the Presidency, and where a heavy carriage's roll announces the hollow beneath," at the site near where the temple of Mumbadevi now stands, and is known as *Payadhoni* or "feet washing place." It was so called because at this identical spot a small stream of salt water was left by the receding tide where, on entering Bombay, travellers and cattle washed their feet. The stream was supplied throughout the year, lazily in the fair season, but rapidly and strongly during the south-west monsoon. Times have altered the face of the island much since then. There were at first five bridges from the building of the temporary dyke, and then substantial dwellings were gradually raised. Sacred fanes of the Bráhmans and Jains, mosques and fire temples sprang up around, since the permanent construction of the solid vellard (from the Portuguese *vallado* "a hedge" or "fence") in the time of Governor Hornby, 1771-1784, closed the main breach of the sea, from Mahálakśmí to Love Grove, operating a great change not only in the appearance of the island by rescuing the Flats from being flooded with salt water. But at the same time it converted the lowlands, which Dr. Fryer once described as "40,000 acres of good land, yielding nothing else but samphire," into pestilential marshes. Still the name of that spot as Payadhoni identifies an old custom.

Words are often formulas as well as historical documents of indisputable authenticity. *Judicium accepit in verba.*

Thus, before the main breach was closed, all the ground from Masjid Bandar to the foot of the old Belvedere, now occupied by the Bandarwada water reservoir, was swept by the sea running far inward. It submerged the land up to the foot of the Nowroji Hill, and within a few yards of the Umarkadi Jail. There it formed a capacious creek resorted to by native craft. And the traditional time and circumstances are still preserved in the name of *Umar Khádi*, which, according to some, means a mountain creek, and according to others who derive it from *Umbar Khádi*, means the figtree creek.

Then the sea rolled by the ancient village of Santa Cruz, which is now an obsolete term, and made its way to a few yards of the site of the house which was once possessed by a decayed descendant of a family called the Navab of Mazagon. There its course was arrested. Close by, on the other side, the progress of another stream from the harbour was also stayed, otherwise Mazagon would have been even now an island, as it was at the time of D. João de Castro when he granted it, in 1548, to Antonio Pessoa. Upon the southern extremity of that identical site stood one of the six small forts of the island of Bombay. These forts were Mazagon, Sewri, Sion, Máhim, Varlí and Riva. It was mounted by half a dozen pieces of cannon. In 1689 the Mazagon fort was seized and held for nearly a year by Yacub Khan, the Sidi of Jinjira, for his master, the Emperor Aurangzebe. In 1773 the fort contained but two soldiers. It was subsequently allowed to crumble, and upon its foundation was raised a dwelling-house, which still exists; and within the precincts of its garden, as it is still called, was once shown the honeycombed ordnance of the old English *fortalis*, as one of the English chroniclers writes, evidently a corruption of the Portuguese *fortalêza*, "a fortress."

Where Kámatipura is now, there was then sufficient depth of water for the passage of boats. In fact, during one part of every day, only a group of islets was to be seen. For Bombay was in short nothing more originally than a group of small islands, with numerous breakwaters, producing rank vegetation, dry at one time, and at another time overflowed by the sea. Further north-eastward, from the Chinch Bandar to Matunga the sea swept onward, invading every accessible rood of earth up to Sion, and right across thence to the ruined fort of Varlí. But time and energy of man have now even here effected considerable improvements. Once only a

narrow footpath, a bridle road, conducted the traveller from Máhim to Sion. But now there is a maccadamised road leading from St. Michael's Church, close to the estuary, and one can drive a vehicle straight to Sion. Fifty years ago there was a fine culvert, the arches of which extending a long way permitted the easy outflow and reflow of the tide, and helped to deposit in the pans formed for their reception extensive layers of salt, for which Bombay had then become famous in India.

Out towards Varlí, almost within the sight of the fort, the tide broke and swept across, disuniting the land tracts from the Breach Candy to Matunga, and swamping the plain, excepting occasional lines of raised earth intended and employed for passengers to the Fort, as the natives from the outlying districts still name Bombay, and from Máhim to Bhendi Bazar as well as from Matunga to Love Grove.

Only one road then crossed over the Esplanade from the Apollo Bandar, and through the native town into the country, adorned by some European villas, "few and far between but all attractive enough" at Byculla, and then across the open country to the western entry into the grounds of Government House at Parel, and onwards thence through another plain into the Máhim woods. This long and serpentine road and other main streets branching off from it are about a century old. Bellasis Road was then "a small straggling, uneven and silting pathway," got up by General Bellasis of the artillery, to suit his convenience, as he lived in the proximity of Mahálakshmí. The author of the *Monthly Miscellany*, published in 1850, says:—"There is a greater desire, as it is a happy idea, for European residents to become landholders now, than there was a quarter of a century ago. Three times beyond that period, people preferred their own tenements; and then came the mania of visiting home and accumulating means for a more expensive country where they could be less agreeably spent and with less comfort," p. 64.

I have thus briefly given the chief physical characteristics of this group of islets and rocks constituting the island of Bombay as it was at the period we are studying, about two centuries ago. It is but a bird's-eye view of the trapezoid figure of Bombay, whose whole area is, as said above, about sixteen square miles, with its shorter side of six miles running parallel to the mainland.

From the old Light House at Colaba, built upon a natural mound, on which was raised an old Portuguese watch-tower, as the tradition says, of 143 feet above the level of the sea, at the extremity of the

southern horn of the crescent-shaped Back Bay to its northern horn, Malabar Point, the eyes enjoy a scene of exquisite beauty. Malabar Hill, which is about a hundred and eighty feet in altitude, its point at the extremity of the hill to the south being occupied by the Government House, faced the open sea; while at the northern extremity are situated the pretty Hill and Fort of Varlí. The line which is parallel to the harbour and mainland has the Lighthouse and an old burial-ground at Colaba for its southern, and the Riva Fort for its northern limit.

The so-called Byculla Flats were once what Dr. Fryer described as 40,000 acres of goodly land submerged, the rest of the island being for the most part a barren rock, the only arable portion producing the useful cocoa-nut palms which covered it all, especially the Esplanade and Máhim. But since the surface of the occupied ground was raised, it has been fairly wooded, tolerably drained, and extensively built over. But while some part of the area is on a level with high-water mark, the other is below it at full spring-tides, forming an unwholesome swamp, and being generally flooded during the rainy season. The island has been extended by the reclamation of the foreshores, "and it is now," says Mr. Maclean, in his *Guide to Bombay*, "not inaptly compared to a saucer or shallow rocky basin filled with sand, and protected against the encroachments of the sea by hills and embankments."

Turning at last southwards, it is well-known that at the time of the Portuguese, Máhim was the *caçabé* or principal town of this septenary cluster of islets, and Bombay had only a Fort or Government House, with the Great House of the "Senhora da Ilha" or the Lady of the Island on it. But the Government House was then slightly fortified, being defended by only four guns, and surrounded by one of the most beautiful gardens. Humfrey Cooke commenced to fortify the place as soon as it came into the hands of the British in 1665, but Captain Alexander Hamilton, who spent his time in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723, says in his *New Account*, etc., that, "In building the fort where it is, Mr. Cooke shewed his want of skill in architecture. It is built on a point of rock that juts into the sea, where are no springs of fresh water, and it stands within 800 paces of a hill called Dungaree, that overlooks it, and an enemy might much incommode it from that hill, as we found by experience in Anno 1689, when the Mogul sent an army on Bombay. Had it been built about 800 paces more to the southward, on a more

acute point of rocks, called Mendham's point, it had been much better on several accounts. First it had been much nearer the road for protecting the shipping there, it had been further off Dungaree Hill, it would have had a spring of pretty good water, which served the Hospital that was afterwards built there, and the shipping had been better secured that lay in the little bay between the point where the fort now stands and Mendham's point."

The Fort stood indeed on a low ground, while the Dungaree Hill adjoining the harbour, where the St. George's Hospital is now situated, overlooking both the harbour and the Fort, was the hamlet of the Kolí fishermen. There was then on it not only a collection of fishermen's huts, but also some dwelling-places of the toddy-drawers employed in the cocoa-nut groves on the plain below. Cows grazed on the eastern part of the present Esplanade, and there were very few good houses except huts beyond the present Fort.

For nearly fifty years after the occupation of the island by the British, Bombay appears to have been left a great deal to itself, and individuals were permitted to occupy what land they pleased, without any system or regulation for the security of the public revenue, in spite of Mr. Aungier's convention of 1672 with the people of Bombay. In 1707, the greater part of the Fort had become private property, but between that year and 1759 it became again, by purchases and exchanges, the property of the Company, which subsequently transferred a part of it to private persons.

One is, perhaps, apt to regard the buildings in the Fort as of some antiquity, but, with the exception of the Castle and the Cathedral, everything else is comparatively modern. In Mr. Warden's time, in 1814, there were men living who recollected having seen a great part of the Fort overgrown with the cocoa-palms plantations.

When the fortifications were first erected, very little land beyond what was absolutely indispensable was cleared of the cocoa-nut trees, leaving the space within the body of the Fort and without its walls up to the very glacis a cocoa-nut grove. But from time to time the Esplanade was gradually cleared of trees to 600 yards from the Fort, only huts being tolerated until the close of 1802. And the following year the great fire happening in the Fort compelled the Company to extend the Esplanade to 800 yards. By this time there was little vacant ground remaining, as houses had been built both throughout the cocoa-nut woods contiguous to the Esplanade and at the Dungari ridge.

The Fort was then nearly a mile long from the Apollo Gate to that of the Bazár, and about a quarter of a mile broad in the widest part from the Bandar or Custom-House across a large open space called the Green, now occupied by a garden, which was nearly in the centre of the walls between the Apollo and Bazár gates. There were also two Marine gates with commodious wharfs and cranes built out from each of them, with a landing place at the dock-head for passengers only. Between the two marine gates was the Castle, a regular quadrangle, built of strong hard stones. In one of the bastions was a large tank or reservoir for water. The fortifications were well constructed, being encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, which could be flooded at pleasure. The dockyard was large, and well contrived, having naval stores of all kinds in warehouses, with a large quantity of timber for building ships. There was a dry dock with three divisions, and a rope walk, where cables and all sorts of cordage, both of hemp and coir, were manufactured. Bombay became in course of time a famous naval arsenal, where five merchant ships were built of considerable burthen, from 600 to 1,300 tons, besides frigates for the royal navy. The docks were the Company's property, the King's ships paying a high monthly rent for repairs. Then there were the barracks and the arsenal, but not of any architectural pretensions.

Mendham or Mendip's point, so named after the first individual buried there, was the southern extremity of Bombay where there was the first English Cemetery, just on the site where the Sailors' Home now stands, as proved by the bones found there while digging for its foundation. On building the Fort wall on that side, the Mendham's point ceased to be a burial-ground. Hamilton says :—"Mr. Aungier advised the Company to enclose the town from Dungaree to Mendham's point . . . but his proposals were rejected, and that necessary piece of work was reserved for Mr. Boone." Mendham's end was joined to Colaba in 1838. The writer in the *M. Miscellany* adds :—"In 1838, the *Velard* or causeway now joining Bombay and Colaba was built, and this led to a commercial speculation in recovering a certain portion of ground for building factories, wharfs, and the greater facility of mercantile operations—this scheme has since proved a miserable failure ; but property in Colaba at one time worthless now rose some five hundred per cent. in value, land was purchased wherever procurable, and houses raised in every possible locality, and at this moment (1850) Colaba possesses some three hundred dwelling-houses, independent of the military cantonments, and bazars

in Upper and Lower Colaba (as the island is now sectioned), with a Protestant Church in course of erection (the foundation-stone of which was laid by Sir G. Clerk, Governor of Bombay, on the 4th of December, 1847, consecrated on the 7th of January, 1858, by Bishop Harding), and a Roman Catholic Church and Chapel. At the north-eastern extremity of the island is a large hamlet occupied by the descendants of the aborigines—Kulis by name—who are fishers by occupation," p. 69. He then mentions the English Cemetery at Colaba, which place he describes as "formerly two distinct islands, the smaller of which lying in the immediate vicinity of Bombay was called Old Woman's Island, and with which it was necessary in by-gone years to have intercourse during the high tides by water conveyance." The cemetery, with partitions for Protestants and Catholics, was about a hundred yards from the old Light-house.

In Dr. Fryer's time Colaba was, as we have seen above, of no other profit than to keep the Company's antelopes and other beasts of delight. Parsons, a century later, writes:—"On this island are two large barracks for the military: sometimes a camp is formed here: it has good grass, not many trees, and a few houses, but neither town nor village: it lies so very open to the sea all round as to be deemed a very healthy place, whither people after recovering from illness frequently move for a change of air." Hence there were built the Military and Parsi Sanitaria. The Light-house was in existence in 1775. It is said that in 1830 there were not fifty private dwellings upon the island, and robberies were of no uncommon occurrence. There are now three Christian temples and one Parsi *agiari* at Colaba, besides the private one at the Parsi Sanitarium.

The Roman Catholic Church dedicated to St. Joseph was consecrated on the 27th of January 1828, by the Bishop of Antiphile, Monsignor Pietro d' Alcantara. Its first incumbent was the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen, who in his diary, Sunday, the 11th of November 1827, refers to Colaba, thus:—"J'ai été me promener avec le Père Augustin à l' Ile de Culaba qui n'est separé de celle de Bombay que dans la marée haute et alors on y passe en bateau: c'est sur cette île, que l' on appelle aussi l'Ile de la vielle femme, qu'est la tour d' eau ou le faual à son extremité meridionale; c'est là aussi qu'est la nouvelle église que l'on veut me donner a desservir, et que j'aurais bien voulu voir; mais comme il était trop tard, nous ne sommes allés que jusqu'à un petit hospice qu'on habite un

Religieux de St. Augustin de Goa, et qui y dessert un oratoire pour les Portugais de Culaba." *Inst. Vasco da Gama*, Vol. III., p. 104.

This hospice and a little chapel attached to it were built by the Augustinian Monks of the convent of N. S. da Graça in Goa, on a piece of ground purchased by their order. It was a rest home for the missionaries proceeding to Bengal, Madras and Daman. On the 15th of November 1822, it was resolved that the building should be supported by the coffers of the missions of the convents, colleges, and hospices of Goa, Daman and Meliapur. On the extinction of the religious orders in Portuguese India in the year 1835, the building was transferred to the Portuguese Government. The Governor, Count of Torres Novas, improved the building to serve as a lodging for the use of the Portuguese officers on their way to or from Portugal to India. In 1874, the Government ordered the sale of both the hospice and the chapel, but fortunately the sale did not take place. It is now the residence of the Bishop of Daman whenever he comes to stay in Bombay. The Chapel is dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and is filial to the Church of N. S. da Gloria of Mazagon. There is a children's school attached to it.

But to return from this excursion through the island to the Government of Bombay. Mr. William Aislabie, who had assumed charge of office from Sir N. Waite in September 1708, made it over to Mr. Stephen Strutt in 1715, and soon left India. With Mr. Aislabie ceased the title of General, first used by Sir John Child, when he moved from Surat on the 2nd of May 1687 to Bombay, his head-quarters, and where he died on the 4th of February 1690. During the first nineteen years, from 1668 to 1687, before the transfer of the government to this island, when the Governors of Bombay used to spend almost the whole of their time in Surat, of whose factory they were Presidents, Bombay was administered by an officer styled Deputy Governor. In spite of the change, and after the transference of the Company's power to Bombay in 1687, the title continued to be borne by the second Member of Council, the last Deputy Governor being Mr. Stephen Strutt, when it fell into disuse. Mr. Strutt officiated in 1715, and, like modern Governors who visit provinces or districts, he left on the 24th of October 1716 on a visit to the factories of Carwar, Tellicherry, Calicut and Anjenjo. With three assistants he embarked, under a salute of thirteen guns, on board the "Catherine," and commenced a voyage which was in those days attended with considerable peril and

adventure. He noted, when sailing out of the harbour, the appearance of the Keneri (Khánderi) island, the Tenedos of Bombay, which had been strongly fortified by Angria and was covered with houses. This island, which lies due south of Bombay and is just discernible from the decks of the ships in the harbour, is nearly of a circular form, with a small creek on the north-east side, where boats lie, for its only landing place. It is about two miles in circumference, 13 miles distant from the mainland and 14 from Bombay, surrounded by a wall irregularly divided by towers, but without embrasures or the appearance of cannon mounted. It was then covered with houses and was populous. It is now uninhabited, excepting by the staff attached to the Light-house built in 1867. This island was first described by D. João de Castro in his *Roteiro*, etc., pp. 57-58.

On his return voyage, Mr. Strutt went to Goa, where the Viceroy, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, "was mighty courteous, and expressed a mighty desire of a good correspondence with the English." On the 28th of January 1715 (1717 ?) "the 'Catherine' anchored safely in the harbour of Bombay, and the Commissioner's exciting voyage of three months happily terminated." *The Bomb. Quar. Rev.*, Vol. III., p. 66.

In politics as in social relations there are phases of cordiality which are inexplicable save by human caprice. The two rival European nations on the coast of Western India were now suddenly seized wit a fit of friendship as displayed by the visit of Mr. Stephen Strutt to the Viceroy of Goa. Those were the last days of their sojourn in India. Mr. Strutt embarked soon after for England, and Vasco de Menezes left for Lisbon on the 13th of January 1717. This meeting of international courtesy was of good presage, however, because they explained themselves and understood each other. *Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner.*

Mr. Strutt was succeeded by the Governor, Mr. Charles Boone, who was one of the most enlightened Governors Bombay ever had. "During the administration of Mr. Boone, there was," says the writer of the *M. Miscellany*, "'some regard paid to the Government in its political character—for we find a portion of the fort-walls on the southern wing raised; the *Palwa*, or 'Apollo' Gate, completed, which a slab in the key of the arch acknowledges; the completion of several buildings; the extension of the old dockyard; and the establishment of the Marine. Beyond the mere continuance of such

projects, there is nothing to disturb the usual official routine of the administration here, until the clang of war in the South and in Bengal roused the various English Presidencies to a sense of their situation in Hindusthan, and led to the presence of Admiral Watson's fleet in the East Indies,' " p. 125.

The events of this scantily chronicled period, from 1720 to 1756,—when Lord Clive's loyal coadjutor, Admiral Watson, fought in the Hugli and also captured on the 12th of April 1755 the stronghold of the pirate, Tulaji Angria, the celebrated Vijáyadurg, 'the fort of victory,' acting in concert with the Peishwa's ships and troops,—were the most important factors in Indian politics, moulding the destiny of this country to higher purposes. This long cycle of years, so full of incidents of the most thrilling interest to the history of India, running from one great epoch to another, from the union of the two companies in 1708 to the French war in 1744, is, however, not devoid of importance to the annals of Bombay, although it is made up mainly of official documents of mere routine. The fact of a new indigenous power rising on the horizon of this country, to complicate still further the already divided and decaying condition of the various principalities of Western India, is more than sufficient to rivet one's attention on that memorable period. Báláji Vishvanáth, a Chitpávan Bráhman of Shrivardhán near Bánkot, was now rising to be the leading adviser of the Sátára branch of the Maráthas, and increasing daily his power by the formal withdrawal of the Moghals from the Konkan in 1720, and by the settlement of the disputes between the Sátára and Kolhápur branches of the house of Siváji in 1730. See Grant Duff's *Hist. of the Maharattas*, p. 200 *et seq.*

But unfortunately for the historian, interested more in developments than in episodes, in the law or deeper causes of events rather than in mere æsthetics or engaging personalities, the materials of this period consist mostly of petty wars, revolutions, conquests and political struggles. Years of repose and silent prosperity, of acquisition of science, of learning or literary progress, and of the gradual shaping of the social conditions of the people appear to have been then not only rare but absolutely of less consequence both to the rulers and to their subjects.

To the writers of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the years of evolution and growth of English dominion in India, of a mercantile company transforming itself gradually into a great power as if driven by casual circumstances to the conquest of an empire,

were barren of any philosophic interest. The scenes of the strange drama that was being enacted before their eyes, of characteristic arrogance and calculating aggressiveness without any imaginative sympathy, and of violence with little consideration for the feelings of others, were nevertheless full of vigorous vitality that serve the cause of morality and lead eventually to the reign of freedom, of order and of justice. All these events were fruitful in lessons of the deepest interest. They were, moreover, the outcome of well-known causes, or phenomena regulated by fixed and natural laws in the true sequence of effects.

"Charles Boone," says the above-quoted writer in the *M. Miscellany*, "will ever be remembered for his philanthropic exertions towards the building of the first stone church here, as well as establishing a public school for the offspring of the poorer Europeans, and personally contributing a large sum in furtherance of his wishes. He was also a patron of merit; and of his pursuits, some idea may be formed when in his time in India he engaged a native artist to make drawings of the Buddhistical temples in Salsette. Of the several others who follow him in fifteen years, there are trivial and at best vague tales—unless permitted to rouse archives—few of which still exist, many perished in a conflagration which occurred at Surat in the opening of this century and regardless of the mischief wrought by white ants." *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Governor Boone had drawings made of the figures in the caves of Elephanta, see *Archæologia*, Vol. VII., p. 336, which he sent to England, and is said to have written a descriptive account of this ancient temple. He loved classical and antiquarian studies, and two Latin inscriptions were placed by him, one over the Apollo Gate of the Fort and the other on the bell in the St. Thomas's Cathedral. The former ran thus:—"H. O. I. Hon. Carolo Boone Arm. Insulæ Bombaiæ, etc. Gubernatore Illustrissimo. Jun. Ult. Anno Domini MDCCXVI." The latter or that on the bell was as follows:—"Laus Deo. In usum Eccles. Angli. Bomb., Annò Domi. 1719. Sine charitate facti sumus velut æs sonans." See *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III., 1856, p. 36. These are, excepting a few old stray epitaphs in some Roman Catholic churches, the only Latin inscriptions known in Bombay. The inscription over the gateway, placed there at the finishing of the town wall on the 1st of June 1716, was removed in 1856.

Mr. Charles Boone not only completed the town wall, as the slab

in the key of the arch of the Apollo Gate once acknowledged, but also erected several buildings and extended the old docks, as well as the establishment of the Marine.

About this period a taste for antiquarian studies began to be displayed, in Bombay for the first time, from the commencement of the British rule. The first two gentlemen, whose names have been handed down to posterity as those of the early explorers, were the harbingers of that general dawn of knowledge which would not rest satisfied until more ample means were adopted in order to preserve from decay and vandalism the Bombay monuments and other antiquities in its neighbourhood. One was Captain Pyke, then commanding an East-Indiaman, and afterwards Governor of St. Helena. He was the first among the British to explore the Elephanta Caves in 1712. A visit to the Elephanta island was as dangerous then as a visit to the Morocco coast is now. Like the Riffian pirates, the cruisers of Kanoji Angria were ready to pounce upon and kidnap any of the Europeans who might come within their reach. Pyke and his party, as they approached the island, took for their landmark the figure of an elephant wrought in stone, with a small tiger upon its back. A little further up the narrow valley between the two long hills was what they called "Alexander's Horse." Both these statues have now disappeared from the island, the shapeless fragments of the elephant alone being preserved in the Victoria Botanical Gardens at Byculla. The stone elephant was 13 feet 2 inches in length and about 7 feet 4 inches high. Its head and trunk and neck dropped off in September 1814.

The small animal on his back was believed by Pyke to be also an elephant, but it was in reality a tiger. It was said, moreover, to have been existing there in its primitive grandeur, as late as the time Anquetil du Perron paid it a visit in 1760; but Grose, ten years before him, or in 1750, had fancied it to be a young elephant "appearing to have been all of the same stone, but it has long been taken down." Carsten Niebuhr, in 1764, thought that it bore "some object on its back, but time has rendered it quite unrecognisable." As for the stone horse, it is mentioned by Fryer in 1673, and also in 1689 by Ovington, who describes it as "lively, with such a colour and carriage, and shape finished with that exactness, that many have rather fancied it, at a distance, a living animal, than only a bare representation." *A Voyage to Surat, etc.*, p. 158. Captain Hamilton, however, thought it to be "not so proportionable and well-shaped as

the elephant." *New Account*, etc., p. 241. It disappeared eventually between the years 1712 and 1769.

Captain Pyke and his companions speculated on the origin of the caves and their sculptures, deciding against the claims of Alexander the Great, but leaning to the opinion of Linschoten that they were the work of Chinese merchants. Probably they got this strange idea of Alexander's claims to be the builder of the caves from Gasparo Balbi who, in his *Viaggio dell' India Orientale*, published at Venice in 1590, said that Alexander built the caves to mark the *terminus* of his conquests. As for the Chinese merchants, John Huyghen van Linschoten wrote of them (I quote him from the old English translation of 1598) thus:—"It is thought that the Chinos (which are verie ingenious workmen) did make it, when they used to traffique in the Countrie of India." Van Linschoten, who arrived in Goa on the 21st of September 1583 and left that city on the 20th of January 1589 for Cochin, whence he sailed to Lisbon, arriving there on the 2nd of January 1592, and remaining more than two years on the island of Terceira, does not appear, from the context of his account, to have ever visited the Elephanta caves at all. He simply copied the statement from Garcia da Orta, who had seen them in 1534 and described in his *Coloquios* published at Goa in 1563.

Captain Pyke made sketches of the figures, which were afterwards engraved and published in Europe. They have, perhaps, the only merit of having inspired Goethe to write some beautiful verses, in which the Elephanta temple is thus alluded to:—

"Nehme sie Niemand zum Exempel
Die Elephanten und Fratzen—Tempel!"

The other scholar was Richard Bourchier, referred to by Anquetil du Perron in his "Discours préliminaire à Zend-Avesta." Richard Bourchier, who was Governor of Bombay, having been appointed while in India from 1750 to 1760, after serving twenty-three years, is said to have died insolvent. About the year 1756, he somehow offended Lord Clive when the latter was in Bombay, and this quarrel gave rise to an angry correspondence, referred to by the chroniclers of the time.

During this period an Englishman was seized by the Malabar pirates near Cotarra, whilst he was sailing in a Portuguese vessel to Damán. They demanded a ransom which Bourchier, in conformity with a principle then generally adopted by the British Government in India, refused to give, as such a payment would only lead to more seizures. The result was that the unhappy prisoner was bound to a

tree and lanced to death. Some time previous to this tragic event, Bourchier having obtained a *firmán* from Aurangzebe, through the intervention of his interpreter, an Englishman by name Swan, became engaged in private trade in defiance of Sir John Child's strict orders to the contrary, which act of disobedience eventually led to his dismissal. But he obtained service in the new Company soon after.

Richard Bourchier was the first European in India to devote his attention to the literary monuments of the Parsis. In 1718 he procured the Vendidad Sade, which he sent in 1723 to Europe. There it remained for a long time an enigma, none of the Oriental scholars of the day being able to decipher its characters. And it is said that it was the casual inspection of this manuscript that first stimulated the zeal of Du Perron to enter into his Zoroastrian researches. Bourchier must have been originally a Huguenot, who, like Gerald Aungier, brother of Lord Aungier, could trace his lineage to old French blood. In fact, in those days most of the prominent men in India belonged to noble families.

The Bombay authorities were engaged about this time in discussing five great topics of the day—the everlasting question of the land tenures of the island; the trial of Ráma Kámáti; war with the Angria; the erection and opening of the St. Thomas's Cathedral; and lastly the interminable quarrels with the Portuguese, involving this time an altercation about the patronage and the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic churches on the island. This last subject, which in the end gave rise to a religious feud, lasting for about a century and a half, between the Roman Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* and the Portuguese Royal privilege of the *Padroado*, or the patronage of the Catholic Missions in the East, surpasses in dramatic interest any of the numerous religious disputes which have been raging for years in the world. But it is too vast a subject to enter into for the narrow dimensions of this work. I shall, however, refer hereafter to the most salient points of this acrimonious question, as far as it illustrates the ecclesiastical phase of the Roman Catholic section of the inhabitants of Bombay in the domain of history.

According to Bruce's *Annals* the uncultivated lands of the island had been divided amongst "a number of black soldiers," on condition of their cultivating them, giving half the produce to Government. These men had been engaged for military operations during the war, and it was thought that it would be imprudent to dismiss them. All Europeans who were in the service of the native States were

recalled to Bombay, in order that the force of acclimatised Europeans might be strengthened here, because "one seasoned man was worth two fresh ones." In 1718, the Company resigned their feudal claims upon the landholders for military service, on condition that a tax should be imposed upon all who resided within the town-walls, a measure that is said to have changed the constitution of the island, the military services of the tenants being commuted by a quit-rent.

The inhabitants of Bombay, however, found that the quit-rent was so onerous that they petitioned the Government to be relieved, and many evaded it by building houses without the walls. The year 1720 may be assumed to be the epoch when the population of Bombay began to out-grow the limits of the Fort. While in 1715 the population was, according to Cobbe, only 16,000, in 1744 it had grown to 70,000. The eastern portion of the native town was in the meantime built over, although it was only after the great fire of 1803 in the Fort that the city began to increase at so rapid a pace, that the Flats began also to be extensively built over. To make this growth clear I shall append below the synopsis of the population at the end of certain periods. According to contemporary writers, from the year 1666 to the present, the population of Bombay has been gradually increasing, with slight fluctuations, as follows :—

1661	10,000	inhabitants.
1664	15,000	,,
1673 (Fryer)	60,000	,,
1718 (Cobbe)	16,000	,,

1744 (Niebuhr) 70,000. On the estimate of one who had been 20 years in Bombay the number of the inhabitants had doubled at the end of that period. The difference was probably due to the large influx of people during the busy seasons.

1764 (Niebuhr) 140,000. But according to *Hist. Account*, p. 6, the population in this year was only 60,000.

1780 (*Materials*, etc., Part III., p. 525). Bombay 100,000, Máhim 13,726.

Thus the population of Bombay had increased more than tenfold in a century.

1812 (Hall) 235,000. Fixed, 165,000 ; migratory, 50,000 ; famine increase, 20,000.

1814 (Warden) 180,000.

1830 (Lagrange) 229,000.

1836 (do.) 236,000.

1872 (Census) 644,405.
1881 (do.) 773,196.
1891 (do.) 821,764.

With regard to the disputes anent the land tenures of Bombay, the Court at last directed that the rents should be reduced by one-half, extending this rate of abatement to the holders of all tenures within the distance of a cannon-shot of town walls. In 1731, an additional quit-rent was imposed on all grounds. In 1758 again, a tax at the rate of two shillings in the pound was paid on the estates in Bombay. Mr. Warden, in the above quoted *Trans. Geo. Soc. Bombay*, writes:— "The English inhabitants were to pay six, and the native eleven reas a square yard; there are inhabitants now living (in 1814) who recollect the space on which the Government house is built, and the whole range where the rope walk stood including the premises belonging to Mr. Forbes, and, in fact, the best part of the Fort as plantations of cocoa-nuts; which it became the policy of the Government to acquire and to remove. The Fazendars' property, therefore, by exchanges became the Company's, and has been again transferred to individuals; but, in those exchanges, the property lost whatever value may intrinsically attach to the term Fazendar," p. 51. The average value of one square yard of ground within the Fort was then assumed by Captain Thomas Dickinson to be fifteen rupees.

He drew the best map of Bombay, which was printed in London in 1843, representing the city in 1812-1816, when the population was 243,000. It bears Major Jervis' signature at the foot, with the picture of a tortoise and the motto *Paulatim*, a far more suitable and modest device for Bombay than the bombastic *Urbs prima in Indis*.

After the great fire in 1803, the demand for ground within the Fort grew considerably, and the price rose in consequence. The average price before that disaster was eight, ten, and twelve rupees per square yard.

A subject of the keenest local interest in Bombay, during the third decade of the eighteenth century, was the judicial trial of Ráma Kámáti for treason. It caused great excitement, because Ráma held a responsible command, and had for long enjoyed the confidence of the Government. He did not belong to the caste of Kámátis, as his name appears to indicate, but was a Shenvi Bráhman of the same family of which there are now some prominent and influential branches living in Goa, called Camota and Camotim.

The Government delivered a copy of the indictment containing

seven counts in English, together with their translations in Portuguese to Ráma, and required him to prepare to answer to the charge on the 17th of March 1720.

The trial, which lasted for some days, can, to avoid prolixity, be shortened by summing it up thus:—that on the 27th of March, Govindji, Ráma's clerk, in order to wrench out the secret, was subjected by Governor Boone to the barbarous practice of screwing irons upon his thumbs until under the smart of them the truth was squeezed out of him. *Bomb. Quart. Rev.*, vol. III., p. 50. Hamilton (*New Account*, vol. I., p. 21) describes Mr. Boone as "a gentleman of as much honour and good sense as ever sat in the Governor's chair." The *rôle* of the Inquisitor, which he played so well on this occasion, has been attributed by some to his antiquarian knowledge, as if he were a Venetian Doge. But imitative proclivities aside, archeology has never yet been known to inspire one to be guilty of such atrocious practices. His studies of the Spanish Inquisition might, perhaps, have led him to act the part of a Don Joan de Torquemada in Bombay.

The result of the trial was that the unfortunate Ráma Kámáti was, on the 11th of April 1720, consigned to the perpetual horrors of a dungeon, and his property, part of which was within the walls of the Fort, amounting to about Rs. 40,000, was confiscated. He died in 1728, and after his death it was discovered that the letters put in evidence against him were all mere forgeries, and that he was, therefore, quite innocent.

The seven articles of the charge against Ráma Kámáti, an abstract of Ráma's answer, and the reply to Ráma's answer will be found in the *Materials*, Part I., pp. 144, *et seq.*

There were as well at this time three other judicial trials of more than ordinary interest which may be mentioned here as illustrative of the state of justice and the stage of civilisation to which Bombay had advanced.

Dalba Bhandári was accused of several high crimes and misdemeanours. The indictment against him was read on the 13th of May 1720 in the English and Portuguese languages. He pleaded not guilty, but it seems that he was at the end sent to keep company with Ráma Kámáti in the "Trunk," a corruption of the Portuguese *Tronco*, a word used originally in Lisbon for a prison or jail.

Next to it was the trial of a trooper by Mr. John Braddyll for insulting him and his wife. The trooper almost rode over them one

night. Being remonstrated with, he answered, "God d——you; if I had had a pistol I would shoot you through the head for a farthing." "Would you," asked Braddyll. "Yes, I would," he said, "you are a rogue and a rascal." The trooper was Mathew Bogle. He was condemned to receive thirty-nine lashes in the public bazar, and to be sent on board one of the Company's vessels, there to serve during the Governor's pleasure without pay."—*Bomb. Quart. Rev.*, Vol. III., p. 53.

The last was the trial of an ignorant woman, named Bastok, for witchcraft. She professed to cure sick persons by the use of charmed rice. She was convicted of this offence on the 5th of July 1729, and the Court ordered that "she receive eleven lashes at the church door, and afterwards she and all persons that are found guilty of the like do such penance in the church as customary." *Ibid.*

The next object of interest was the war with the Angria. Between 1713 and 1727 the Angria's power was at its highest. On several occasions the English, either alone or conjointly with the Portuguese, attacked him, but never with success.

In 1720, an Englishman, Mr. Curgenven, who had in a very short time, as was the case in those palmy days of the island, made a large fortune in Bombay, began to think of returning home. He first sent his wife to England, and then he followed with two vessels loaded with his riches. But he had hardly sailed for ten days when one ship took fire consuming before his eyes everything she contained. He consoled himself, however, with the reflection that much riches still remained to him. Next morning he was surrounded by the Angria's fleet and taken prisoner. He and his property were taken to Vijáyadurg, where he was chained to a bench in one of the Angria's galleys to work as a slave. For nearly ten years he worked literally as a slave, and after the payment of a ransom regained his liberty. He reached England and his wife was rejoiced to meet him after such a long and bitter separation. But he had not yet drunk his cup of bitterness to the dregs. The iron ball by which he was fastened to the chain had cut into the flesh of his thigh. Amputation was performed successfully, but one evening, as his wife was sitting by his bedside, he threw off the bed clothes and expired from hæmorrhage, the femoral artery having burst. Before any assistance could be procured to tie the blood vessel he had bled to death. His widow became Lady Somerville. So much for the bad luck attending the wealth amassed in Bombay. See Sir J. B. Burgess's *Letters*, etc.

Though Kanoji Angria died in 1728, his piratical instincts being faithfully transmitted to his descendants, the latter carried on the war in the teeth of all resistance from their two European neighbours. Between 1724 and 1754 he had captured ships of war from the Portuguese, English, Dutch and French. With the Sidi's downfall in 1733, the Angrias took possession of his fleet of grabs and galivats. But the wars and negotiations with the Angrias are a subject that has already been treated at length by other writers, and I need not refer to them here except to record the Angria's fall in 1757. This disaster was followed by the crushing defeat of the Maráthas at Panipat in 1761. Both these events helped to liberate the English from the thraldom of insidious neighbours, and to hasten their rise to a position of comparative ease and independence. Thus all circumstances seemed now to combine and favour the British ascendancy in Western India. They had walked timidly in their infancy; with increasing size or age they had assumed a bolder gait; and now, like Virgil's Dame Rumour through Libya's cities, the English in Bombay not only gained vigour by restlessness but gathered force by motion. Though through fear they were at first small, they rose now high in the air, and, while stalking upon the ground with commercial aims, their minds, like heads in clouds, were bent to the lofty purposes of conquest and higher ideals of life :—

"Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo.
Parva metu primo; mox sese adtollit in auras,
Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit."
Æneid., Lib. IV. 175-177.

In reference to the St. Thomas's Cathedral, it may be mentioned that the original steeple ended in a kind of lantern, and that the upper portion of the present clock-tower dates only from about 1838, when the old bell was displaced by the tower at an outlay of Rs. 16,000. The bell, half way up the steeple, was the gift, as above mentioned, of Governor Boone. It was cast in Bombay, and is said to have been a fine bell. The clock cost a sum of 500 guineas raised by subscription.

Before the laying of the marble pavement, the floor of the church is said to have been covered with cow-dung, and the building was lighted, instead of with glass, with panes of the pearl oyster shells, of which article Moor in his *Hindoo Pantheon* speaks highly as serving to keep off the glare of the sun and as being more refreshing to the eyes than panes of glass. This state of things continued till the first decade of the nineteenth century.

A writer in the *M. Miscellany*, p. 5, says:—"St. Thomas's is the first Anglican Church of stone that was raised in Hindustan." And the Rev. Philip Anderson, in his *English in Western India*, p. 65, writes that, prior to the existence of a proper edifice set apart for the purpose, "the only place which the English had for the celebration of Divine Worship was a Hall in the Fort." Others believe that there were "two rooms in the Governor's house which were considered unsuitable for service," but a letter from Bombay, dated the 29th of December 1688, to the Court, says that Sir John Wybourne had fitted up a very convenient chapel out of the two rooms. The suggestion that such a building should be raised, was first made by the Court of Directors, and a letter from Surat to Bombay, dated the 17th of January 1676, states:—"The building of a Church or chapel in Bombay is certainly a work which well deserves that pious zeal you are pleased to entertain thereof. The reasons are obvious. . . Some propose the Church should be erected on Mendham's Point, which is our usual burying place, and that were proper enough as to ourselves. But it will not answer our main design of inviting the natives to repair thereunto and observe the gravity and purity of our devotions. For that place is quite out of the way of concourse and will seem wholly appropriated to the English." *Materials*, etc., Part III., p. 580. It was then decided to build the Church "near the present town or between it and the place designed for the English and Europeans to inhabit in, and to be adjoining to the high road leading to the great street or bazar of the present town. . ."

A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III., p. 40, describing the Church when completed, says:—"The new Church was described as 'a structure deservedly admired for its strength and beauty, neatness and uniformity, but more especially for its echo,' as eclipsing the Churches of Bengal and Madras, as well as the Portuguese Churches of Bombay, and of sufficient area to be a Cathedral. The first care was the allotment of seats, in which the order of precedence was scrupulously observed. The ground-plan is now before us, and we see in it the various grades of society marked with the utmost precision. After the Governor, who of course occupied the first place of dignity, come the 'Council, their ladies, and ladies whose husbands had been in Council'; then in regular order, senior merchants, physician, doctors, doctor's mate, senior merchants, wives of super-cargoes, free merchants and European captains, European captains, super-cargoes, free merchants captains of grabs,

'councillor's captains,' lieutenants of grabs, and 'councillor's mates.' Behind these sat writers, strangers, house-keepers, inhabitants, commissariat officer and gunners, commissariat officer's wife and gunner's wife (there was only one). In rear of all were serjeants, corporals, soldiers, gun-room crew, troop and guard, and 'inferior women.,' "

Going back to the origin of this first monument of the Established Church of England in Bombay, it may be worth while to record here that its design was the work of Sir George Oxenden, who was President of Surat and Governor of Bombay in 1668. He died on the 14th of July 1669 at Surat, where his tomb exists with the following epitaph :—

Insulæ Bombayensis Gubernator,—
Vir
Sanguinis splendore, rerum usu
Fortitudine, prudentiâ, probitate,
Pereminentissimus.

His successor, Gerald Aungier, although actuated by missionary zeal, was unable, under the pressure of those troublous times, to do more than presenting the Church with a silver chalice in 1675, as noted before. He was followed by Sir John Child, who assumed office in 1668, and died in 1690. He has been accused of appropriating to his own use the balance of Rs. 50,000, collected by Sir George Oxenden for the Church.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, who had lived in India from 1688 to 1723, in his *New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1727, referring to this fund and to the building begun by Sir George Oxenden, adds that "charitable collections were gathered for that use; but when he died, piety grew sick, and the building of Churches were grown unfashionable indeed. It was a long while before the island had people enough to fill a Chapel that was in the Fort, for as fast as recruits came from Britain, they died in Bombay; which got the island a bad name; they were reckoned above £5000 had been gathered towards building the Church, but Sir John Child, when he came to reign in Bombay converted the money to his own use, and nothing more was heard of it: the walls were built by his predecessors to five yards high, and so it continued till the year 1715, when Mr. Boone came to the chair, who set about building of it, and in five years' time, finished it by his own benevolence, and of other gentlemen, who, by his persuasions, were brought in to contribute: the Company also contributed something towards that pious end."

It is said by some old writers that the charge of misappropriation by Sir John Child was inspired by animosity entertained by the sea-captain, who hated the Governor; but the fact that it has never been denied leads one to suspect that there was some truth at the bottom of the accusation.

When the Rev. J. Ovington, Chaplain to his Majesty, was in Bombay and wrote *A Voyage to Surat in the year* 1689, published in 1696, in which he gives a plan of the citadel or Fort and a prospective land view, taken on the 2nd of April 1668, referring to the Church in 1690 assigns a different cause. "The war with the Mogul," he says, "interrupts the finishing of a stately structure which was going on for their public Church." Another authority states that above this structure of masonry, which was abandoned when the walls were five yards high, wood-work was raised, so as to afford a comfortable covered building for the performance of public worship. And a writer in the *M. Miscellany* adds:—"Indeed, wooden Christian Churches were peculiar hitherto to India, and we learn from the early records of the East India Company, that the Armenians (who acted in the capacity of brokers to the English in their commercial speculations) for certain political assistance rendered in Persia, were to have wooden Churches built for them at the expense of the Company at any of their settlements, where there might be a sufficient stipulated number of the Armenian community."

The minister who officiated at the two rooms, situated in the middle of the house in the Fort, where there was space enough, as Sir John Wybourne wrote to the Company on the 29th of December 1686, for "four times the number of people that we have on this island" used to receive for his spiritual functions £100 for year, exclusive of the allowance and public quarters assigned him at the cost of the East India Company.

It was this temporary improvement of the Fort Chapel that, perhaps, delayed further progress in the construction of St. Thomas's Church, now the Cathedral. And it was not until the 21st of September 1714, when the Rev. Richard Cobbe arrived in Bombay to succeed the Rev. George Watson as Chaplain, that anybody ever thought of raising the superstructure of the edifice over walls perfectly good and five yards high standing there. The predecessor of Mr. Cobbe had died in 1710, before completing a residence of one year, and for the following five years the place was without a clergyman.

On his arrival the Governor, Mr. Aislabie, gave Mr. Cobbe a chamber near the Chapel and his own lodgings in the Fort. But Cobbe found the place unsuitable for religious purposes, and on Sunday, the 19th of June 1715, preached a sermon informing his audience that *Supremis venerare Deum* is an old, sound, and orthodox maxim.

The result was that on the 19th of June 1715, the Governor gave leave for the building of the Church, which was begun in November 1715 and finished in 1718. The total cost of the building was Rs. 443,992, while the bell was given, as said above, by the Governor, Mr. Boone, who had in the meantime succeeded Mr. Aislabie.

Among the subscriptions the Company contributed Rs. 10,000, Mr. Boone gave in various sums Rs. 3,918, Mr. Cobbe 1,427, and among other contributions were "a fine upon Bhandarries, sacramental collections, a commutation for penance," while one Mr. Sodington gave "for my wife when I have her Rs. 20."

In 1750 Grose, in his "Voyage," I, p. 51, writes:—"The Church on the Green is extremely commodious, fully sufficient for any congregation." And Forbes in 1784, in his "Oriental Memoirs," I., p. 152, also says:—"The only Protestant Church on the island stood near the centre of the town, a large and commodious building with a neat tower." Niebuhr and Ives call it a handsome and splendid Church as well.

The Rev. Richard Cobbe's description of the Church, which is a long one, may be shortened as follows:—"The roof is arched with three regular arches of stone, supported by two rows of pillars and pillasters on each side, with a large semi-dome at the east end to receive the communion table, like that of St. Paul's, London, ascending by three steps, and a rail to separate it from the body of the Church. Its situation is very commodious, in the midst of the inhabitants, within the Town-wall and at a due distance from the Castle." See *Bombay Church*, etc., Lond. 1766, p. 58. The primitive ground-plan has now been somewhat altered since an addition to the chancel and the new organ-chamber, which was begun in 1865, necessitated not only an extension of the area, but also the removal of some of the old monuments and marble tablets to places different from those where they were originally located.

With regard to those worthies, whose mortal remains repose in this Bombay Pantheon, there are, among others, those of Sir William Syers, the first Recorder of Bombay; of Sir Robert Oliver, the first

Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy; and of Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, to whom Napoleon Bonaparte surrendered his sword on board the "Bellerophon," after his flight from Waterloo and before his exile to St. Helena. Sir David Pollock; Admiral Inglefield; Sir James Dewar; Sir C. Harcourt Chambers and General Kinnersly also occupy vaults there. Among those whose remains were more recently buried are the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan and Lady West, wife of Sir Edward West, Chief Justice. The monuments of greatest interest are those erected to the memory of Sir J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, from 1795 to 1811; Captain Hardinge, a younger brother of Lord Hardinge, who fell in the naval engagement off the coast of Ceylon with a French frigate; Stephen Babington, whose statue is now in the Town Hall; Bishop Carr, whose effigy in marble, in full episcopal robes, reposes in the southern transept. Commodore Watson, who died from the wounds received at the seige of Thána; Lieut.-Col. John Campbell, who defended Mangalore in 1784, during a siege of eight months; Thomas Mowtyn, the celebrated Envoy to the Marátha Court; Dick; Daniel Seton; Colonel Cay; Burr; Eldred Pottinger; various members of the Carnac family; and General Ballard. Outside the Church there are also some old tombs of well known families in the annals of British Bombay, such as Warden, Lodwick, Perry, Willoughby, Awdry, Wigram, Crawford, Willis, Hadow, Pollexfen, etc., of the present century, and Mrs. Rawson Hart Boddám, wife of Mr. Rawson Hart Boddam, who was Governor from 1784 to 1788, Henry Moore and others.

The reason of there being so few tombs and cenotaphs in the Cathedral in 180 years is said to be due to the fact of the chief burial ground between 1669 and 1760 being at Mendham's Point. The Mausolea and tombs at that point which made once "a goodly show" from the harbour were probably removed to the Sonapur Cemetery, when the fortifications were built on that side from 1760 to 1763. The Cemetery at Sonapur was first opened in 1763, and exactly one hundred years later, in 1863, a bill was introduced into the Legislative Council of Bombay to empower the Government to close all burial grounds within the precincts of the Town, as prejudicial to the public health, this Cemetery being the principal among them. During the century, since the opening of the Sonapur Cemetery, it was calculated that 19,333 bodies had been interred in it, and for want of room old graves were constantly being re-opened

and re-filled. It was in 1867 that this Cemetery was at last closed, that of Sewri being in substitution opened on the site of an old Botanical garden, and consecrated by Bishop Harding on the 26th of March of that year. It is situated near the harbour shore and is half a mile in extent. The fountain in front of St. Thomas's Cathedral was the gift of Sir Cavasji Jehangir.

In 1814, Bombay was made an Archdeaconry under the See of Calcutta, the first Archdeacon being the Rev. G. Barnes. Although the Church was built in 1718, still it was not until nearly a century later that Bishop Middleton, the first Anglican Prelate of India and Bishop of Calcutta, consecrated and dedicated it to St. Thomas on the 7th of June 1816.

In 1835 Bombay was raised to the dignity of a bishopric, subordinate to the Metropolitan prelacy of Calcutta, the then Archdeacon, the Rev. Thomas Carr, being elevated to the episcopacy, by consecration, at Lambeth, on the 19th of November 1837. He was installed on his pontifical throne on the 21st of February 1838, and St. Thomas's Church was at the same time "Gazetted" as the Cathedral of the diocese. After Bishop Carr, the Bombay See has had the following Bishops:—Harding, Douglas, Mylne and MacArthur. The Bishop of Bombay is permitted the same privileges as the prelates of Calcutta and Madras, and in point of precedence he ranks next to the Chief Justice of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature.

Old residents and visitors to the island refer to the fact of there being then but only one clergyman to perform the service of religion, and if he should die, the congregation would be absolutely deprived of a pastor. Both Niebuhr and Ives notice this want, and one of them adds:—"But only one English clergyman to perform the service in it; and if he should die the congregation must be absolutely deprived of a pastor; for the Company have no chaplain in their ships, and entertain no clergy in their settlements along the coast: wherefore when a child is to be baptised, which was not often, as the English rarely marry in India, a Danish missionary is sent for to administer the sacrament of baptism."

Mr. James Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, says:—"There were seldom more than two chaplains belonging to the Bombay establishment. When I was in India (1766-1784), the one resided at the Presidency, the other alternately at Surat and Baroda, where were considerable European garrisons. The Roman Catholics had several churches and chapels in different parts of the island, etc." Vol. I.,

p. 152. But there was no ground for complaint for half a century afterwards of the paucity of clergymen. It was said that since the appearance of Bishop Middleton in this part of India more attention was paid to this subject. It was also reported that the factory of Surat since its establishment was occasionally favoured by the presence of a clergyman, and that in the event of his death or removal the senior merchant officiated.

The first Anglican clergyman known on this side of India was Mr. Henry Lord, "Preacher to the Honorable Company of Merchants," in 1643. He wrote a book entitled "A discovery of two foreign sects in the East Indies," *i. e.* the Baniás, and the Parsís, in 1630, which he dedicated to Sir Morris Abbott. He is referred to in Churchill's *Voyages* and Bruce's *Annals*. Sir Thomas Herbert was indebted to him for his information regarding the Parsís, and Bernier also acknowledges his obligations to him in a letter to M. Chapelain. John Ovington was another minister of the Church of England. He was Chaplain in the Royal Navy and sailed for Surat from Gresend in April 1689. In his work, "Voyage to Surat," published in 1696, he furnishes but little information respecting the state of society in Bombay, except the insanitary condition of the island. He alludes in one place to his being asked by the Deputy Governor, Mr. George Cooke, to reside with him in Bombay, because they were destitute of a minister, but he appears to have declined the invitation, because he had "been satisfied of the immediate infallible sad fate I was under like that of my predecessors; one of whom was interred a fortnight before this time, and three or four more had been buried the preceding years."

Among other clergymen it is worth recording that Admiral Watson's fleet, on their return trip from Calcutta, took up Mr. Howell, the minister, for Bombay, and Edward Terry, Chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe, and "chambermate and tent fellow" of Tom Coryat at Ajmir, came to India in the fleet that sailed in February 1615-16. He wrote "A Voyage to East India," of which I have seen the edition of 1777.

For a length of time the St. Thomas's Church was the only place of worship in Bombay for the members of the Anglican persuasion. And it was not until 1825 that a thatched building was got up at Colaba for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers in the cantonment there, and called St. Mary's Church. But the Bishop of Calcutta, in his episcopal tour of 1835, refused to consecrate such a ricketty building.

Some six years later the public benevolence, assisted by Government, built "Christ Church" at Byculla. It is situated in the same enclosure as the Education Society's Schools. The style of design is not unlike that of the Church in Langham Place, London. In the year 1831, measures were taken to build the Church in that locality, the foundation-stone being laid by Lord Clare, who evinced his interest in the work, both by making over to the church the iron pillars in the interior, corresponding with those in the Town Hall, for which they had been originally intended, but not required in its erection, and by presenting a silver trowel to an Indian architect, a native of Goa, by name Constancio Augusto. This Church was consecrated in 1835 by the Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta. Like the Cathedral this Church has sittings for 500 persons.

The next Church of the Anglican persuasion is the St. John's Church at Colaba. The foundation-stone of this Church, raised "in memory of the fallen brave in Afghanistan" was laid by Sir George Russell Clerk on the 4th of December 1847, the plan being prepared by Mr. H. Conybeare, C.E., son of a late Dean of Llandaff. While the Church was in course of construction the Rev. G. Pigott, and the Rev. P. Anderson, the author of the "English in Western India," both of them interested in the raising of this memorial, were removed by death. A handsome window in the Baptistory testifies to the attachment of the congregation to the latter. The style of the Church is early English, the building consisting of a nave, aisles and a chancel 50 feet in length by 27 in width. The ceremony of consecration was performed by Bishop Harding on the 7th of January 1858. At this time the spire was unbuilt, but it was completed in 1865. The height of the tower and spire is 198 feet.

Another building belonging to the same Church was the Holy Trinity Chapel, the gift of the Hon'ble James Farish to this city. It was constructed from 1838 to 1841 by the Rev. George Candy, its first minister, ordained by Bishop Carr on Trinity Sunday, 1838, opened for divine service in 1840 and consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson in 1842, at New Sonapur, to which was attached the Indo-British School for girls and boys. This Church was originally a Chapel-of-ease to the St. Thomas's Cathedral and was subsequently raised to the status of a District Church. This building was sold about ten years ago, and a new Church and the Indo-British Institution built in a more healthy locality on the eastern part of the Esplanade. The old building is now reduced to a market.

There are four other churches which may be mentioned in connection with St. Thomas's Cathedral. They are the Girgaum Mission Church, designed by the architect Mr. W. Emerson, and opened for public worship on the 10th of January 1869; St. Paul's Church, a Kámáthipura, built through the exertions of the Rev. Charles Kirk, designed by the same architect, first used for divine service on the 22nd of October 1871, and consecrated by Bishop Douglas on the Feast of St. Paul, the 25th of January, 1872. Services are held here in English, Maráthi and Tamil. This building reminds one of a similar erection at Goa raised by the early Portuguese missionaries, in 1541, and termed "The Seminary of the Holy Faith," for the instruction and education of children of various eastern nationalities, to which was attached the stately edifice of St. Paul's Church, built on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, of which mention has already been made above. Close to the Seminary was also situated the St. Paul's College, which was the residence of St. Francis Xavier during his stay in Goa, and which gave the name of Paulists to the members of the Society of Jesus who were engaged in the Indian missions. Then follows St. Peter's Church, at Mazagon, which was opened for divine service in 1859. It can accommodate 250 persons, and was built chiefly from funds bequeathed by an aged European resident at Mazagon named Shepherd. Lastly, there is All Saints' Church, at Malabar Hill, built about 15 years ago.

The National Church of Scotland next demands our attention. The growing society of the Presbyterians first brought out to Bombay their minister, the Rev. James Clow, in 1814. There being no church of their own, they held divine service, in 1815 in the Mess-room of the Town Barracks, near the Shipping Office, and then in a room in the old High Court facing H. M.'s Docks. It was a large room on the site of the present St. Andrew's Kirk. Then after some exertions, permission was obtained from the Court of Directors for building the Kirk. By the aid of private and public subscriptions the edifice was begun in 1818 and completed in 1824. In 1826 its steeple was struck down by lightning, and the present one constructed by Mr. John Caldecott, F.R.S. It is a plain and small building, but substantial. Its internal arrangement is so carefully made that it can accommodate 300 worshippers. On Mr. Clow's retirement, in 1834, the Rev. Mr. Joseph Lawrie, who had been appointed junior minister, since 1822, succeeded him. The Rev. Dr. John Stevenson, the well known Orientalist, whom I have referred to before, was then

brought on the strength of the establishment and promoted to the senior chaplaincy in 1841, when the Rev. Mr. George Cook became junior minister.

The disruption in the Church of Scotland had its echo in Bombay. Most of the ministers seceded, and the congregation followed the cause of the missionaries. St. Andrew's Kirk at that time is said to have "presented the most unpleasing view of the National Church of Scotland in Western India that she ever did." In the division which arose in the Church of Scotland both at home and abroad, a large number of members of that persuasion in this city took part with the side upheld by Dr. Chalmers, supported by Dr. John Wilson, a name perpetuated in the Wilson College, situated at Chowpati, resulting finally in the movement which produced the "Free Church of Scotland."

This separation is said to have been a great and noble sacrifice in worldly success, and also a gain in the maintenance of principles. During the long period this bitter conflict was being waged, the members of this Church held their spiritual gatherings in the American Mission Chapel, at Bhendi Bazar, very obligingly placed at their disposal, the devotional exercises of the sect being carried on by their own missionaries.

Dr. Wilson was then absent, but on his return to Bombay, subscriptions were actively got up, means rapidly collected, and a minister, the Rev. A. Garden Fraser, having been sent out to meet their spiritual needs, a piece of ground was obtained by the purchase of several wretched hovels at the verge of the Esplanade in the vicinity of the old Elphinstone Institution. Large sums of money having been subscribed, the most munificent donor being a merchant of this city, Mr. David McCulloch, and the building designed by his friend, Major Alexander Cumine Peat, C.B., of the Bombay Engineers, the plan of the proposed "Free Church" of Bombay was settled, and the edifice duly erected.

This Church was constructed of Porebunder stone. It was a neat structure and a pleasant contrast to the squalid tenements in its immediate neighbourhood. It was of an agreeable colour to the eye, in comparison with the dingy, black and graceless buildings around. It possessed no ornamental advantage, its chief characteristic being "a quiet neatness, pleasing to an amateur in quest of materials for a sketch book." The Free Presbyterian Church was centrally situated for parties living either to the north or south of the island. To the

residents in the Fort it was an agreeable ten minutes' walk of a cool evening. If one drove down, there was a large pendal opposite where the horse and carriage might be left well protected from the sun and rain.

The Free Church was opened for divine service on a Saturday, the 29th of October 1848. The morning exercise was conducted by the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, whom I have alluded to above. He preached from 2nd Chron. v. 2—4. In the evening, the Rev. A. Garden Fraser, the first Pastor of the Church and afterwards railway magistrate at Poona, preached from the text drawn from Ezek. xxi, 27. "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no *more*, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it *him*." A large congregation attended, the Church being full to the overflowing.

This Church was sold lately, and a new one built at Waudby Road, to the west of the Olive Lodge, on the Esplanade. It is a beautiful Church, well situated, having all the requirements a sacred temple should possess, especially picturesque surroundings, with the Masonic Temple and Elphinstone Cricket Club for its back ground, and great tranquillity all around.

The Americans have had for many years an extensive establishment in Bombay for the propagation of Christianity. They still possess one of the best typographical presses here, with Roman, Devanágari and Arabic characters. Having once attempted, as early as 1813, to obtain a footing on the island, Sir Evan Nepean refused them residence here on the ground of some political reasons which have not yet been made apparent. This restraint or coercion was said to have been ordered by the Supreme Government. The American missionaries then quitted the island and removed themselves to the south of the Western Coast, moving up again with altered times and conditions. They have now, besides the old Church at Bhendi Bazár, three beautiful Methodist Chapels at Grant Road, at the Apollo Bundar and at Mazagon. The Rev. Mr. Bowen, whose loss left Bombay the poorer by the removal of an object-lesson of Christian love and charity, was one of their early Ministers, a truly self-denying and saintly man.

Before concluding this series of the Churches and Chapels of Bombay, I must not omit to mention the Wesleyan Chapel at the Colaba Causeway, which was built and opened within the last five years; and the churches of the Invocation of St. Nicholas for seamen, at Prince's Dock; St. Mary the Virgin, at Parel; and St. Stephen, at Bandora.

Finally, no sooner had the chaplain, Richard Cobbe, arranged the affairs of his Church than this zealous clergyman made an effort to establish a charity school for Protestant children. He preached a sermon on the 8th of September, 1719, after which a sum was collected. This is regarded as the origin of "the Education Society Schools" at Byculla. "This charity school," as it was then called, for Protestant children, opened under Mr. Cobbe's auspices in 1719, and continued in the Fort, in connection with St. Thomas's Church, was, in 1825, removed by order of Government to the present buildings, at Byculla, constructed at a cost of nearly Rs. 1,75,000.

Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* refers, in 1784, to this school as follows:—"There was also a charity school for boys and a fund for the poor belonging to the "Church of England." The Rev. Mr. Cobbe himself would most probably have brought his benevolent scheme to completion, if, as a writer of the *Bombay Quarterly Review* says, "untoward circumstances had not checked him in his useful career, and driven him to leave India in disgust." What these untoward circumstances were I hope to be able to recapitulate in a few words. Mr. Cobbe preached a sermon, taking for his text the words "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished," which text was supposed to reflect on the conduct of the Government for having suspended Mr. Lawrence Parker, the Deputy Governor and one of their colleagues, from the exercise of his functions. This sermon was pronounced to be seditious, but his adversaries stifled for a while their indignation, waiting for a favourable opportunity to pour their wrath on the reverend aggressor's head, and that opportunity did not take long to present itself. Mr. Braddyll, a member of the Council, the same gentleman who had condemned the trooper Bogle to receive thirty-nine lashes in the public bazár for having insulted him and his wife, was repairing his house on Sundays. Mr. Cobbe remonstrated with him for breaking the Sabbath, and denied him the Holy Communion. Mr. Braddyll complained of this affront to the Governor in Council, who suspended the Chaplain from the exercise of his pastoral functions. Mr. Cobbe soon left the country. He lived to a good old age in England, being happy in his children and great grand children to the fourth generation. "The work of righteousness," says Isaiah, "shall be peace: and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

It seems as if the Protestant community in Bombay did not feel much in those days the want of a clergyman; for Mr. Cobbe's absence

was scarcely noticed by the greater part of the congregation. Hamilton tells us that he found in his time a lay substitute for a clergyman at Fort William, in Bengal. For five years after Mr. Cobbe's retirement, there was a lay actor in sacerdotal robes, who was said to have been too glad to play the chaplain for a consideration. At the Presidencies, a factor or military officer received £ 50 in addition to his salary for preaching sermons. After Mr. Cobbe's suspension, Mr. Thomas Waters, who had already acted as Chaplain's deputy for a remuneration of eleven rupees a month, was appointed to officiate. But he did not regard himself as bound to practise what he preached. Eight or nine years after his nomination, he was tried for embezzling the public money, and ordered to refund nearly sixteen thousand rupees. It is no wonder that a preacher on eleven rupees a month should have been tempted to plunder sixteen thousand. Bombay was then, as now, a city of merchants. And there may perhaps be some truth in these French proverbs—*Il faut être marchand ou larron* and *Est bon larron qui à larron dérobe*. The spirit of these sayings must have contributed to set the Chaplain's deputy free, for no legal proceedings appear to have been taken against him, nor was the amount stolen ever refunded. Such was one of the main topics of conversation in Bombay, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Cf. *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. III., pp. 41 *et seq.*

Before closing the interesting subject of the Anglican Cathedral of Bombay, it may be worth while to note a few more details. We have seen that before the Church of St. Thomas was built, there was, according to Fryer, in 1673, no English Church in Bombay, although it was much desired at the time. As late as 1690, Hamilton wrote that, although "the Company was at so much charge in building forts, that they had no thoughts of building a Church." And when Sir George Oxenden began to build it, charitable collections were made, but on his death, in 1669, "piety grew sick and the building of churches had grown unfashionable."

The religious services were in the meantime held in two rooms situated in the middle of the Governor's house, called the Fort Chapel. On the 11th of January, 1676, the Surat authorities wrote that the erection of a Church should be postponed until the receipt of an answer from the Honourable Company. On the 17th of January, 1676, they wrote again that "some propose the Church should be erected on Mendham's Point, which is our usual burying place, and that were proper enough as

to ourselves. But it will not answer our main design of inviting the natives to repair thereunto and observe the gravity and purity of our devotions. For that place is quite out of the way of concourse, and will seem wholly appropriated to the English." And on the 2nd of July, 1684, they again wrote:—"We having now ordered one half of your shipping to load directly at Bombay without going at all to Surat or Swalley, it will be convenient that you should proceed to finish the great Church, which we hear is carried up as far as the wall plates, or roof rests, wanting only a roof." *Materials*, etc., Part III, p. 581.

We have already learnt that the first stone of the Church was not laid until the 18th of November 1715, and it was opened to divine service in 1718. But the construction of St. Thomas's Cathedral was mainly due to the inspiration and efforts of the learned Dean of Norwich, Humphrey Prideaux, who, as early as 1677, was claiming with earnest solicitude the attention of those who ought to have made it their chief concern to build a Church. In that year he had been consulted as to the expediency of publishing a copy of the Syriac Gospels, which were preserved by the ancient Church of the so-called Christians of St. Thomas on the coast and mountains of Malabar, and had lately been taken to England. This place was the cradle of Christianity in India, and to it I shall have to refer at length elsewhere when treating of the troubles anent the change of the Roman Catholic jurisdiction in Bombay, it being impossible, having due regard to the purpose and limits of this work, to travel beyond them, however attractive and interesting the subject may be.

In 1694-95, Prideaux, probably another Huguenot like Aungier and Bourchier, published an account of the English settlements, in which he affirmed that other European nations and even heathens showed more regard for the religions they professed than the English. Mussulmans had their mosques, Jews their synagogues, Hindus their pagodas, Portuguese their churches with numerous priests, the Dutch Presbyterians thirty or forty ministers for instructing the heathen, chaplains for the ships and factories, a college at Ceylon, where Bibles, catechisms and other books in the vernacular languages were printed, but the English, with the exception of one Church at Madras, raised, in 1680, at the sole expense of Mr. Streynsham Master, who was dismissed the service by the Court's order in 1681, had never built a Church. He further represented that although there were English chaplains in India, they were disrespectfully treated.

One of the results of the appeals of the Dean to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison, and later on to his successor, Archbishop Wake, in which he entreated his Grace to interpose with the King that "the East India Company may be compelled to do something towards that good work," was the appointment of the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain to Bombay. He arrived here as noted above, on the 21st of September 1714, and the Governor Aislabie gave him a convenient chamber near his own lodgings in the Fort and near the Chapel. After two months' experience, however, Mr. Cobbe found, as noted above, the performance of public devotions under lock and key in the two upper rooms of the Fort or Castle inconvenient and unsuitable.

With the story of Mr. Cobbe and the completion of St. Thomas's Cathedral, this chapter on the later British Period closes. The history of Bombay from the year 1720 to the present is replete with many thrilling incidents and romantic episodes, but their narrative would require a volume apart. This modern period of quick growth and general advancement is therefore reserved for a separate treatment elsewhere.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

In the absence of a preface, generally set apart by conventional licence to explain the purpose and method of a work, of which there is hardly any need here, I avail myself of this chapter to thank all those who have had any share in the issue of this volume.

I have to express my obligations to the Committee for publishing this book as an extra number of the series of the Journals of the Society.

I am also indebted to Mr. G. K. Tivarekar for his skilful preparation of the Index, and to Miss Marie Frédoux, the late Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Freeman and Mr. F. H. Brown of the "Indian Daily Telegraph" for kindly undertaking the wearisome task of reading some of the early proofs, while regretting that my absence from Bombay during the months the work was passing through the press should have rendered the revision imperfect.

Two motives have inspired this work. The first, to present to my colleagues—with whom it has been my good fortune to co-operate for the last quarter of the XIXth century to keep up the heritage of studies bequeathed to us by the last generation of scholars—a

monograph of permanent interest. The second, the realization of a project I have been cherishing from my youth—to write an historical sketch of Bombay.

There is, indeed, nothing chimerical in this design, as it has been based upon the consciousness arising from my possessing uncommon opportunities which happy circumstances had placed within my reach.

I am, therefore, not only exceedingly grateful for favours from whatever source received, but also emboldened to adopt as my closing words the motto from Alfred de Vigny which Auguste Comte has prefixed to his system of philosophy:—"Qu' est ce qu' une grande vie? Une pensée de la jeunesse exécutée par l' âge mur."

THE END.

[The death of Dr. Da Cunha took place while the last sheets of this work were passing through the press, and this event, to be lamented on many accounts, makes it necessary to publish this extra number of the Journal without its having received that final revision which the learned author would doubtless have desired to give it.]

INDEX.

Abdoola, 12.
Abdul Malik, 27.
Adeśvar Bhagván Temple at Byculla, 64.
Affonso, D. VI. King of Portugal, 5, 239, 240, 267; his letter to the Viceroy of Goa, relating to the cession of Bombay to the English, 249.
Ahmad Báhmani, 67, 68.
Ahmedabad, 6.
Aislabie, William, 330, 331, 341.
Albergaria, Lopo Soares de, 73.
Albuquerque, Affonso de, his first visit to India in 1503, 122, 233.
Albuquerque, D, Fr. João Affonso de, successor of Bishop Vaqueiro, in the Episcopal See of Goa, 126-129.
Albuquerque, Fernao de, 168.
Alexander the Great, 17, 19, 22.
Alexandria and Bombay, resemblances between, 5.
Ali Kasim, Sidi of Janjira, 309.
Ali Shah, 74, 75.
All Saints' Church at Malabar Hill, 361.
Almeida, D. Pedro de, 267, 316, 317, 318.
Almeida, V. R. d', 261.
American Mission Churches in Bombay, 363.
Anahilváda or Anahilapura, 36, 39.
Anahilapátaka (Anahilswáda), 49.
Anderson, Henry, 251.
Anderson, Philip, author of English in Western India, 231.
Angediva Island, 255.
Angria's piratical raids about the Bombay Harbour, 351, 352.
Antiochus II, 17.
Antiquarian Research in Bombay, the dawn of, 345-346.
Aparáditya, 26.
Aparájita, 31.
Aparânta or Northern Konkan, 16.
Apollo Bander, 172.
Apollo Bander, derivation of the name of, 305, 306.
Apollodotus, 15, 30.
Armenians, in Bombay, 293, 294.
Arsaces, 17.
Aryandes, 15.
Asad Khan, 12.
Asia and Europe, similarity as to the main features of the Coast lines of, 332.
Aśoka, 12.
Aungier, Gerald, 225, 287, 288, 316, 323.
Aungier, Gerald, account of his administration of Bombay, 288—293.
Babulnath Temple, situated on the top of the spur of Malabar Hill to the East, 64.
Back Bay Harbour, 332, 333.
Balabhadra, 50.
Balbi, Gasparo, 22.
Balhâras, 13.
Bámi (Balk), 66.

Bámiyán, 66.
Bana (Thána), 43.
Bánásur, 32.
Bandora, Dr. Fryer's visit to, 210-211.
Bandora, the Church of the Jesuits built at, in 1570, 222.
Bandora, the Portuguese Churches at, 213.
Banias allowed to settle in Bombay, 293.
Barbosa, Duarte, 43.
Barnes, Rev. G., the first Archdeacon of Bombay, 358.
Barros, João de, 12, 72, 73.
Barthélemy, A. de, 2.
Barygaza (Broach), 15.
Bassein, 6, 23.
Bassein, account of Nuno da Cunha's expedition against, and terms of the Treaty of the cession of, to the Portuguese, 87, 88-90.
Bassein and its dependencies, the Territorial divisions of, on the occasion of its cession to the Portuguese by Bahadur Shah, in 1534, 181, 182, 183.
Bassein, and its dependencies, the land tenure and revenue system, introduced by the Portuguese in, 214, 215, 216, 217.
Bassein and its environs, in 1662, Rev. Godinho's description of, 187-190.
Bassein, description of the Fort and the city of, 194, 196, 197.
Bassein, Dr. Fryer's description of, 212.
Bassein, the Society of Jesus introduced into and a Seminary founded at, 222.
Behram, Gor, 3.
Bena (Thana), 43.
Bermudes, Fr. Diogo, 156.
Bernardino, Gaspar de S., 252.
Bhandaris of Bombay, 42.
Bhangúlis of Bombay, 42.
Bhavanishankar Temple, beyond the Gowalia Tank, 64.
Bhima, Conqueror and King of Mahim, transcript and translation of a copper-plate of, 49-50.
Bhimdev or Bhíma Rája, king of, Bombay, traditions relating to-34-37, 39, 43.
Bhiundi, 39.
Bholeshvar and Mumbadevi Temples, Abbe C. de Kloguen's description of, 62, 63.
Bholeshvar Temple, account of, 61.
Bímbákyán, Chronicle of King Bhima, 39.
Bocarro, Antonio, 169.
Bombaim, the name by which Bombay is referred to by Portuguese and other writers, 43.
Bombay, account of a review in 1531 of the Portuguese army collected by Nuna da Cunha in Goa, on the island of and of his military transactions on the Western Coast of India, 85-87.
Bombay and Alexandria, resemblance between, 5.
Bombay and Mahim, conquest of, by Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, the 8th Portuguese Governor, (1522 to 1529), consolidation of the conquest, by Nuno da Cunha, the 9th Governor (1529-38), and division of the lands into feuds, by D. João de Castro (1545-48), 90, 91.

Bombay and the neighbouring territory, the Churches, Convents, &c., in, during the Portugese rule, 198, 199.

Bombay and the surrounding districts, introduction of Christianity by the Portuguese in, and a sketch of their religious policy, 114-120, 138, 139.

Bombay, Antonio Bocarro's description of, 169, 170.

Bombay, arrangement for getting the Gujarat Banias to settle in, 293.

Bombay, attacks of the Sidi of Janjîrā on, 308.

Bombay, Baldous's reference to, 277, 278.

Bombay, Bibliographical notices of papers on the geology of, 24-26.

Bombay Castle, 339.

Bombay Castle, assembly held in the, by the Governor, Gerald Aungier, 1st November 1672, for convention with the inhabitants of Bombay regarding their estates, 225.

Bombay coast, second descent of the Portuguese fleet on, 73.

Bombay, compared with Paris, 4, 5.

Bombay, concluding remarks on the Portuguese period of the history of, 233-239.

Bombay, de Barro's description of, 70, 71.

Bombay, Dellon's reference to, 278.

Bombay, derivation of the name of, 43, 44.

Bombay, description of the Aspect of, 1.

Bombay, distinguishing topographical features of and description of the different parts as they were in earlier times, together with chief physical characteristics of islets and rocks constituting the island of, 332-341.

Bombay, divided by the early Portuguese into seven villages, 206.

Bombay Dockyard, 276, 339.

Bombay, Dr. Fryer's account of the condition of, about the time of its cession to the British, 199; his remarks on the international policy and the European colonisation of, 281-283, and his sketch of the diseases prevailing in, 284-287.

Bombay during the Silahara rule, 26, 27.

Bombay, early Armenian Settlers in, 293, 294.

Bombay, early Parsee Settlers in, 295, 296.

Bombay, expansion of, since 1814, 4, 5.

Bombay, extracts from different works on the state of the health of, in the last quarter of the 17th Century, 318-320.

Bombay, extracts from documents relating to the early British period of the history of, 315-318.

Bombay Fort, account of, 338, 339.

Bombay Fusiliers, 276.

Bombay, Gaspar Correa's reference to, in his "Lendas da India," 71, 72.

Bombay, geographical situation of, 23, 24.

Bombay Government authorised to coin money in 1677, 276, 277.
Bombay, Governor Aungier's convention relating to the land possessed by the inhabitants of, 300-302.
Bombay, grants or leases of villages in, 205, 206, 207, 208.
Bombay group of islands, 23, 24.
Bombay Harbour, account of the great Naval battle in 1529, in the, 74-76.
Bombay Harbour, grand naval review of a Portuguese Fleet in the, and a parade on the Island, in January 1531, 77.
Bombay, important Judicial Trials about 1720, showing the state of justice in, 349-351.
Bombay, important events in the history of, at the beginning of the 18th century, 324-333.
Bombay, influence of the Portuguese rule, on the social history of, 231, 232.
Bombay, introductory remarks on the Portuguese Period of the History of, 68-70.
Bombay, invasion of the island of, by the combined Dutch and English Fleet from Surat, in 1626, 159, 160, 161.
Bombay, investigations into the ethnology of, 40-43.
Bombay Island and harbour ceded by the Crown of Portugal to the Crown of England, under the treaty of marriage between Charles II. and Infanta Catharina, 241-244, 260.
Bombay Island, ceremonial on the occasion of the delivery of, to the English, 261, 262.
Bombay Island, probably referred to by Camoens in his description of Isle of Loves in the Lusiad, 79-84.
Bombay, J. de Castro's description of, 78.
Bombay, Land Tenure of, 347-349.
Bombay, letters, &c., bearing on the subject of the cession of, to the English, 245—259, 264, 265, 266, 267, 270.
Bombay, list of Governors and Deputy Governors of, from 1662-1690, and from 1704-1716, 323, 324, 331.
Bombay, Mahomedan Monuments in, 68.
Bombay, Mandelslo's reference to, 277.
Bombay, Mr. Murphy's remarks on the oldest races, settled in, and their dialects, 37-43.
Bombay, modern, events contributing to the making of, 3.
Bombay, on the condition and the government of, about 1671, 287-288.
Bombay, on the industry and agriculture of, during the Portuguese period, 203, 204.
Bombay, on the morals and manners of the early British period of the history of, 320, 321.
Bombay, one of a group of rocky islets, about 200 years ago, 23.
Bombay, physical and prehistoric feature of, 24.
Bombay population at the end of defferent periods, from 1661-1891, 348, 349.
Bombay, proposal in 1739, relating to the clearance round the Town Wall in, 201.

Bombay, reference to the origin of the name of, 66, 67.
Bombay, reference to the geological features of, 65, 66.
Bombay, references to, by travellers in the 16th and the 17th Centuries, 277-281.
Bombay, references to, in works of Portuguese writers, 43, 44.
Bombay, religious and social changes initiated by the Portuguese rule, the chief elements in the rise and prosperity of, 214.
Bombay, Roman Catholic Churches and Institutions in, 143-144, 204, 205.
Bombay, some of the chief events about the end of the 17th Century in the annals of, 322, 323.
Bombay, statement of the revenues of the island of, about 1667, 271.
Bombay, storms visiting the island of, 192-194, 321, 325.
Bombay, Tavernier's and Thevenot's references to 277.
Bombay, the chief seat of Government transferred from Surat to; 2nd May 1687, 307, 309.
Bombay, the dawn of antiquarian research in, 345, 346.
Bombay, the deities worshipped by the Hindus in, their groups and description, 52—54.
Bombay, the establishment of a Mint in, 276, 291.
Bombay, the first four Governors after its cession to the British Crown, 273, 274.
Bombay, the first proposal, about adding to the British possessions in India, 172,173.
Bombay, the Hindu Temples of, 50—65.
Bombay, the land system of, regulated by Simão Botelho after its acquisition by the Portuguese in 1534, 91, 92; grants of reclaimed and other lands, arrangement for holding lands on lease; tax on lands, &c., 93-96.
Bombay, the Mahomedan period of the history of, 67, 68.
Bombay, the Portuguese Church on the Esplanade in, 200, 201, 202.
Bombay, the question as to the boundaries of, arising after its cession to the English, 262-264.
Bombay, the real position of, in February 1665, 263.
Bombay, three successive transfers of the island of, 272, 273.
Bombay to Agasi, a furious hurricane, sweeping over the whole groups of islands from, 17th May, 1618, 158.
Bombay, topographical features of, 332-336.
Bombay, transfer of, to the East India Company on 27th March 1668, by the English Government, 272.
Bombay, two of the most ancient deities of, *Kaleka* and *Grámadevi*, 53.
Boone (Charles), Governor of Bombay, 331; account of his administration, 342-345.
Botelho Simão, 21, 44, 214, 235, 290.
Botelho Simão, account of his career in India, 91, 92.
Bourchier, Geo., 288.

Bourchier, Richard, Governor of Bombay, his career, 346-347.
Bowen, Rev. Mr., 363.
Braddyl, Mr., 364.
Breach Candy, on the origin of the name of, 57, 58.
Brigbu, 42.
Burniston, Samuel, 324.
Byculla Flats, 337.

Camanha, R. Gonçalves de, 237.
Camoens, Luiz de, 157.
Carr, Rev. Thomas, the first Bishop of Bombay, 358.
Carter, Henry, 25.
Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de, 12, 72.
Castro, Antonio de Mello de, 5, 242, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260.
Castro, D. João de, 21, 44, 93, 205, 215, 218, 236, 292.
Castro, de Ignez de, 263.
Catharina, Infanta, of Portugal, 178, 239.
Cathedral, St. Thomas's, description of, 352-359.
Catholic Missions in India, development and expansion of, creation of the bishopric of Goa, and the territory included under its jurisdiction, 123-125.
Cavel, an ancient village in Bombay, account of, 7-9.
Chandaśarman, 50.
Chandragupta, 14, 20.
Charles II., 239, 249.
Charles, II, his letter appointing Sir Abraham Shipman to take possession of Bombay from the Portuguese, 250.
Charney Oart, part of the Mazagon Estate, 223.
Chashtana, 15.
Chaul, the Jesuit Mission of, founded in 1580, 154.
Child, Sir John, 288, 307, 322, 323.
Chintamani Temple, near Bholeshwar, 64.
Christ Church at Byculla, 360.
Christian education in the East, the foundation of, laid by the Portuguese, 134.
Churches of Bombay, account of, 352-367.
Churches, Roman Catholic of Bombay, 204, 205.
Clark, G. F., 25.
Cobbe, Rev. Richard, 320, 356, 364.
Coinage, early of Bombay, connected with that of Greece, 17, 18.
Coinage, primitive, of India, 19.
Coins, called *drammas* or *dramyas*, history of, 27-30.
Coins, known by the name of *gadhia paisa*, description of, 28-30.
Coins, named Tétariya, 27.
Coins of Krishnaraja, traced in descent to the early Greek coinage, 17.
Coins of Krishnaraja found in Cavel, in Bombay, 7.
Coins of Krishnaraja found at Devalána, in Nasik, 10-13.
Coins of Krishnaraja found at Mulgaum, near Marole, in Salsette, 9.
Coins of Menander and Apollodotus, current at Broach, about the first Century A. D., 15, 30.
Coins of the Guptas, and the Western Kshatrapas, description of, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Coins of the Satraps of Western India, copied from those of the Indo-Bactrians, 17.
Coins, on the types of Indo-Bactrian, 17.
Coins, the law of heredity in, 15.
Colaba, account of, 303—305, 340, 341.
Colaba Causeway built in 1838, 339.
Condestabre, 12.
Cooke, Geo, 324.
Cooke, Humphrey, 4, 251, 256, 257, 260, 261, 265, 266, 269, 273, 323, 337.
Copper-plate of Bhima, Conqueror and King of Mahim, transcript and translation of, 49, 50.
Correa, Gaspar, 12, 43, 71, 72, 73, 85, 219.
Cosme, da Guarda, 314.
Costa, R. M. de V. da, 261.
Cottineau de Kloguen, Abbé, 3.
Coutinho, André Ribero, 216.
Couto, Diogo de, 31, 32, 44, 72, 73.
Cowasji B. Banaji's Fire Temple in the Churney Road, 297.
Cunha, F. de Sampayo da, 206.
Cunha, João Nunes da, 260.
Cunha, Nuno da, 21, 77, 78, 215.
Cunha, Nuno da, and the Military Transactions of the Portuguese on the Western Coast of India, 85-88.
Curgenven, Mr., 351.

Dabul, on the Konkan Coast, D. F. de Almeida's punitive expedition to, and the sacking and burning of the Town of, 71, 72.
Dadaji Kondadev, 315.
Dadar, 208.
Dadar, the Portuguese Church at, 209.
Dalba Bhandári, trial of, in Bombay, in 1720, 350.
Damán, conquest of, by the Portuguese and their possessing the whole coast of the North Konkan from Daman to Karanja, 182, 183.
Damri, a nominal coin, description of, 230.
Dárávi, 23.
Devagiri, 39.
Dhákleshvar Temple near Mahalakshmi, 64.
Diodotus, 17.
Diogo, Mestre, the proprietor of the island of Bombay, in 1348, 96-97, 206.
Dosabhoy N. Sett's Fire Temple, near Fanaswadi, Agiari Lane, 296.
Duncan, Jonathan, 4.

Education Society's Schools at Byculla and Fort, 364.
Elephanta, De Couto's account of, 32.
Elephanta, early accounts of the island of, 20, 21, 22.
Elephanta Island, Bocarro's description of, 171.
Elephanta, relics found among the ancient ruins in the neighbourhood of, 22, 23.
Elephanta, the seat of a powerful government in the 6th Century A. D., 20.
Eukratides, 233.

Farly, Thos., 251.
Farrel, Valenter, 251.
Fateh Khan, 68.
Fazendeiro, on the derivation and the meaning of the word, 229.
Ferishta, 12.
Fidalho, Count de, 22.
Fire Temples of Bombay, account of, 296-299.
Foldery, John, 251.
Fonseca, A. M. da, 262.
Fonseca, D. Frei Viente da, 22.
Forts, on the derivation and the meaning of the term, 228, 229.
Fraser, Rev. A. G., 362.
Free Church, on the Esplanade, 362, 363.
Fryer's visit to Bombay, and his accounts of the place, 278-287.
Furtado, Luiz de Mendonça, 266.

Gadiji Temple near Payadhuni, 64.
Galvão, D. L. H. Nicolas, 261.
Gamdevi Temple, account of, and tradition relating to, 55.
Gary, Henry, Governor of Bombay in 1667, his administration of the island, 269-272, 273, 274, 323.
Gayer, Sir John, 322, 324, 325.
Gharapuri, 20.
Gifford, Phillip, 324.
Girgaum, an old temple at, 56.
Girgaum Mission Church, 361.
Girnár, 15.
Goa, 6.
Goa, creation of the Bishopric of, including the whole of India, and all places from the Cape of Good Hope to the confines of the extreme East, 124, 125.
Goa stone, one of the Indian drugs mentioned by Dr. Fryer, description of, 286-287.
Godinho, Manuel, account of the life and career of, 251-253.
Godinho, Manuel, his description of Portuguese India, 186-190.
Goen, R. Van, 290.
Golopher, Walter, 251, 262.
Gotámiputrá Śatakarni, King of the Deccan, 16, 130.
Grantham, Sir Thomas, 288.
Gray, Mathew, 289, 324.
Gregorio, João, 251, 256.
Grigby, Alexander, 288.
Gueri, H., 262.
Guimares, Father, a Portuguese Missionary, writer of a Puran in Marathi, on the incarnation and death of Christ, 37, 38.
Gyford, 289.

Hall, Capt. Basil, 319.
Hamilton, Capt. Alexander, 319.
Harris, Bartholomew, 309, 322, 324.
Henery and Kenery islets at the entrance of Bombay Harbour, 60.
Henry, Prince of Portugal, orginator of maritime discoveries of the Portuguese and the founder of the Missionary movement, in India, 120, 121.
Heptánesia, identified with Bombay, 23.
Heracles, 17.
Herodotus, 15.

Hoffman, 24.
Hormusji Wadia's Fire Temple near Chandanwadi, 296, 297.
Hurricane, sweeping over Bassein, and the group of the Bombay islands, on 15th May 1618, description of, 158, 190, 191.
Hurricanes, visiting Bombay at different periods, description of, 192-194, 321, 325.

Ibn Haukal, 27.
Idrisi, 43.
Images of Gods in the Hindu Temples at Bombay, named after the founders, instances of, 45.
India, ancient and mediæval sources of the history of, 11.
India and Italy, similarity between, in regard to their topographical features, 332.
India and the East, the religious policy adopted by the Portuguese in, and a sketch of their religious history, 114-158.
India, Portuguese historians of, 12.
India, remarks on the civilisation of, 19, 20.
India, South, on the emigration of the Aryans and the Brahmans to, 51, 52.
India, true history of, begins with the arrival of the Portuguese in, 12.
Indian Trade, the participation of the English and the Dutch in, in competition with the Portuguese, 174-177.
Inscription found near Uran, dated 1260 A. D., recording a grant by a Siláhár Prince, 26.
Inscription found near the Govt. House at Parel, dated 1187 A.D., recording a grant by the Siláhár Prince, Aparáditya, 26.
Inscription in a Kanheri Cave, dated, 844 A. D., recording a grant by a Siláhára prince governing the North Konkan, 26.

Janjira and its Sidi ruler, 308, 309.
Jarric, Fr. Du, his visit to Bandora and Thana, 213.
João I, King of Portugal, 239.
João III., King of Portugal, 91.
Jordanus (Fr), 141, 142.

Kalachuri coins of Krishnaraja, 13.
Kalkadevi (Kalikadevi), description of the temple of, and the legend relating to, 53, 54.
Kalliana (Kalyân), 184.
Kanheri Caves, Diogo Do Couto's account of, 113, 114, 130.
Kanoji Angria, 330, 351, 352.
Kásárdevi Temple, near Mumbadevi, 61.
Káshi, 34.
Keigwin, Captain R., his mutiny against the authority of the Company and his seizing the island of Bombay, 288, 306, 323, 329.
Keneri or Khanderi, 24, 342.
Kenery and Henery islets at the entrance of Bombay Harbour, 60.

Kellery, Light-house, 60.
Khandera, 24, 342.
Kólis, the oldest rural gentry of Bombay, account of, 8, 40, 41.
Krishna Raja, Râshtrakuta, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20.
Kumáragupta, 11.
Kutb Khan, 67.

Lackadevi Temple, the remnant of, on the Siri Road, Malabar Hill, 55, 56.
La Fontaine, 6.
Lakshmana, 34.
Land tenure introduced by the Portuguese in Bombay and Bassein, account of the system of, 216-224.
Land tenure of Bombay, 347, 348, 349.
Lanká, 34.
Lassen, 28.
Lavradio, Count of, 315-318.
Lebrun, 5.
Lemos, Antonio de, 226.
Light-houses of Bombay, 60.
Lincoln, William, 251.
Linschoten, J. H. Van, 22.
Lombroso, Prof. 15.
Lord, Henry, the first Anglican clergyman in Western India, 359.
Lucas, Sir Gervase, Governor of Bombay in 1666, 269, 273, 323.
Luiz, D., 239.
Lush, C., 25.

M. Carsetjee Langda's Fire Temple, Fort, 297.
McCulloch, David, 362.
Madhava Vidyáranya, 315.
Máhalakshmi Temple, at Breach Candy, account of, and tradition connected with the foundation of, 56-58.
Maheshvari Temple at Navivadi Lane, 65.
Maheshvara, 17.
Mahikavati (Mahim), 47.
Mahim, 39, 208, 367.
Mahim, the Portuguese Church at, 209.
Mahomed of Ghazni, 39.
Maine, Sir Henry, 18.
Malabar, beginning of the Missionary work of the Portuguese in, in 1503, 122.
Malik Káfar, 67.
Malik-ul-Tujár, 67.
Malkhed, 13, 31.
Mallikárjun, a Siláhára prince and King of the Konkan, 31.
Máloji Bhonsla, 313.
Manapazer Pagoda in the island of Salsette and a Royal College built in it, description of, 113, 114, 131, 132, 133.
Manapura, 12.
Mandapeśvar Caves, turned into a Christian Church, 131, 133, 142.
Maneckji D. Shroff's Fire Temple in the Fort, 297.
Maneckji Sett's Fire Temple at the Bazaar Gate Street, Fort, 297.
Mánkhed, 13.
Mankir, 13.
Mânpura, 13.
Manuel, D., King of Portugal, 90, 91.
Mányakheta, Capital of the Rashtrakutas, 12.
Manzoni, Alessandro, 30.

Marathi dialect of Bombay, works by Portuguese Missionaries, written in a, 37-39.
Marco Polo, 39.
Maruti, one of the most popular Gods in Bombay, his principal virtue, his legends, and his temples, 54, 55.
Masúdi, 27.
Mauryas, 20.
Mazagon, lease of the village of, 207, 208, 218, 228.
Mazagon, the origin of the name of and account of the temples in the village of, 59, 60.
Mazagon, the Portuguese Church at, 209, 210.
Mealecan (Mir Ali Khan), 12.
Mejambu (Máhim), 43.
Menander, 15, 30.
Mendham or Mendip's Point, 339.
Menezes Dom Manoel de, 313, 314.
Menezes, Martinho da Silveira, 226, 227, 228.
Menezes, J. Mendes de, 261.
Migos, Dr. Sebastião A., 257.
Mint, established in Bombay, and the coins first struck there, 291.
Miranda, D. Ignez de, 206, 257, 261.
Mitchell, Rev. J. Murray, 363.
Monçanto, D. Rodrigo de, 257, 261, 263.
Moreh, 22.
Morgan, Roger, 251.
Mubáraka, 45.
Mubarik, 67.
Mugbhat shrine, near Thakurdvar, 64.
Müller, Prof. Max, 19.
Mumba, 46.47.
Mumbadevi temple, account of, and traditions connected with the, 43-47.
Mumbáraka, 45.
Mundaka, 49.
Munga, 45.

Naushirvan, 30.
Niebuhr, Karsten, 319.
Nima Parakh, 293.
Noronha, D. Affonso de, 205.
Noronha, D. Antonio de, 219.
Norris, Sir William, ambassador sent out by the New English Company to India in 1701, 325.
Nowroji Hill, part of the Mazagon estate, account of the revenue assessment of, 223.
Nunes, D. Fr. Gasper, the first apostolic Commissary and titular bishop of India, 123.

O'Daly, Daniel, 179.
Oderic, Friar, 21.
Old Woman's Island, or Colaba, 24, 303.
Orta, Garcia da, 20, 21, 22.
Orta, Garcia da, grant of the island of Bombay to; account of his life and career, in Bombay; description of his house; the state of Bombay during his time; his research in Botanical science; his work entitled, *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas da India* 97—105; critical remarks on the work; reference to Bombay in the *Colloquios*, 105, 106; the

(fruit rent that had to be paid for Bombay, 107; the fruit trees, especially the mangoes of Bombay, 108, 109; his account of the races and castes in Bassein, 109-111; description of the Cave-temples of Salsette, 111-112; his death at Goa in 1670, 112.
Ovington, Rev. John, 318, 319.
Oxenden, Henry, 324.
Oxenden, Sir Geo., 257, 262, 288, 291, 323.
Oxenden, Sir Geo., his career as President of Surat and 5th Governor of Bombay, 274-276.

Páchkalshis of Bombay, 42, 43.
Palshis of Bombay, 42.
Pandurang Sivaji, a Maratha goldsmith, the builder of the present Mumbadevi Temple, 46.
Parel, derivation of the name of; the Mankeshvar Temple at, 58, 59.
Paris and Bombay compared, 4, 5.
Parsee Panchayet Fire Temple, Fort, 297.
Parsees and their Institutions in Bombay, 295-299.
Parsees, Shenshais and Kadmis, the first religious feud between, 300.
Parviz, 30.
Pataliputra, 20.
Patan, 39.
Payadhuni, 46, 334.
Pereira, D'Gaspar de Leão, 204.
Periplus, 15.
Pesson, Antonio, 205, 206, 207, 218, 263.
Petery, T., 262.
Petit, John, 288.
Philippa, Ferreira, D., 195, 196.
Philopator coins of Apollodotus, 15.
Pires João, 21, 205.
Plague in India, about the end of the 17th Century, 191.
Population of Bombay, at the end of different periods from 1661 to 1891, 348, 349.
Pori (Pory), the ancient name of Elephanta, 20, 21.
Porto, Fr. Antonio do, the apostle of Bombay, Salsette and Bassein, his extraordinary missionary activity in the islands, his conversion of the priests in the Kanheri and Mandpeśvar Cave-temples to Christianity and transforming of the temples into Christian Churches, 129-131, 142.
Portugal, the political relations of, in India and Europe, in the middle of the 17th Century, 177.
Portuguese Church on the Esplanade, pulling down of the, in 1760; compensation paid for and spot provided for rebuilding the, 201, 202.
Portuguese Churches at Mahim, Dadar and Mazagon, 209, 210.
Portuguese Empire in India, Rev. Godinho's description of, 186-190.
Portuguese in India, Della Valle il Pellegrino's, account of, 185.
Portuguese, the religious policy adopted by the, and a sketch of their religious history in the East, 114—158.
Porus, 21, 22.

Prabhadevi or Prabhavati, the family goddess of Prabhus, account of the temple of, 47, 48, 49.
Prabhása, 36.
Prabhus or Parabhus, of Bombay, account of, 41, 42, 47.
Preto, Antonio G., 251, 256.
Printing, the art of, introduced by Portuguese Missionaries into India, 103, 104.
Prideaux, Dean Humphrey, his account of the English Settlements in the East, and his efforts in regard to the building of St. Thomas's Cathedral, 366, 367.
Ptolemy, 23.
Pulakesi, 22.
Puri, the Capital of the Siláhára princes of Northern Konkan, in the island of Elephanta, in the Bombay Harbour, 26.
Pyke, Captain, the first among the British to explore the Elephanta Caves in 1712; account of his visit to the caves, 345, 346.

Raktavija, 53.
Ráma, 34.
Rámachandra, the fifth Yádav ruler of Devagiri, 39.
Ráma Kámati, trial of, in Bombay, in 1720, 349, 350.
Rámavádi Temple at Kalbadevi, 63, 64.
Ráshtrakutas, the origin of, 12, 13.
Rattas, 12.
Rávana, 34.
Raynal, Abbé, 319.
Rebello, Francis F., 259.
Rhakotis, 5.
Richelieu, 12.
Rolt, Thomas, 288, 291, 306, 307.
Rozario, Domingos do, 179.
Rudradáman, 16.

St. Andrew's Kirk, opposite H. M.'s Docks, 361.
St. John's Church at Colaba, 360.
St. Paul's Church at Goa, 361.
St. Paul's Church at Kamathipura, 361.
St. Peter's Church at Mazagon, 361.
St. Thomas's Cathedral, account of, 352-359, 365, 366.
St. Thomas's Cathedral, names of well known persons buried in the, 356, 357.
Salsette, 23.
Salsette, derivation of the name of, 45.
Salsette, Dr Fryer's account of his excursion to, 210-213.
Salsette, remains of Christian Colleges and Orphanages in, 148.
Salsette, two villages in, converted by the Jesuits in 1578, the number of converts about 10,000, 154.
Salvesong (Dadar) 208.
Sambal, the Sidi of Janjira, 308.
Sankargana, 13.
Sampáio, I. S. de, 264.
Sandrocottos, 20.
Santupori, 32.
Satraps, origin of the family of 16.
Sebastião, D., 219.
Serrão, Manuel, 205, 206.
Sewri, derivation of the name of, and a Shrine dedicated to Siva at, 58.
Shâh Jahan, tutenag coins of, 17.
Sháhaji, 313, 314.
Shanton, Capt., 289.

Shantipuri, 32.
Shantinath Temple, near the Bazar Gate Street, Fort, 64.
Shatánandpur, 31, 32.
Shatshashti (Salsette), 31.
Shipman, Sir Abraham, 242, 250, 251, 255, 260, 261, 273, 323.
Shivaji, account of his birth-place and parentage, as given by Portuguese writers, 313—315.
Shivaji, the English Embassy from Bombay to Raigad on the occasion of the coronation of, 311, 312.
Siláhar, princes, architectural monuments, in North Konkan, and Bombay, belonging to, 32, 33.
Siláháras, the rulers of Bombay and the surrounding villages, between 816 and 1260 A. D., 26.
Silva, Antonio da, 226.
Silva, Rodrigues da, 261.
Silveira, Diago da, 97.
Silveira, Heitor da, 75, 76, 78. 235.
Simpdeo, 32.
Sion, derivation of the name of, and its situation, 59.
Sirbali, 32.
Sita, 34.
Siva, 11, 34.
Skandagupta, 11.
Solon, the attic standard of coins established by, 17.
Somala Deva, 27.
Somnátha, 30, 39.
Sonapore Cemetery, 357. 358.
Southwell, Robert, 315.
Souza, Lionel de, 219, 263.
Souza, Martim Affonso de, 98.
Souza, M. de Faria, 72.
Souza, Ruy de, 220, 221.
Spinak Temples near Mumbadevi, 61.
Stephens, Thomas, a sketch of his life and of the works written by him, 163-168.
Stevens, John, 251, 262.
Stevenson, Rev. John, 361, 363.
Sthánaka (Thana), 31.
Storms, visiting Bombay at different periods, account of, 192-194, 321, 325.
Strutt, Stephen, Governor of Bombay, 331; his visit to the factories under his control, 341, 342.
Sudarśana, the ancient lake near Girnar, 15.
Sulaimán, 27.
Supárá, 16, 17, 31.
Surat, 6.
Surat, an important port, about the beginning of the 17th Century, 184, 185.

Talmud, 34.
Tavora, Alvaro Pires de, 225.
Tavora, Bernardino de, 221, 224.
Tavora, de Souza, 225.
Taxila, 19.
Tevur, 13.
Thakurdvár Temple, account of, 63.
Thana, an important town in mediæval times, 184.
Thana, the Portuguese Churches and Convents at, 213, 214.
Thomas, Price, 251.
Thomson, Robert D., 25.
Thorpe, N. 200, 201.
Tiastánes, 15.
Torne, John, 251, 261, 262.
Towers of Silence in Bombay, 299.
Trade with the East Indies, an association of merchants formed in England in 1599 for developing the, 166.

Treaty of Marriage between Charles II of Great Britain, and Infanta D Catharina of Portugal; particulars of the articles of the treaty and of subsequent affairs in connection with it, 239—248, 264.
Trindade, or the Christian village of the Blessed Trinity, founded in the island of Salsette, account of, 146-148.
Trinity Chapel at New Sonapore, 360.
Tripura or Tevur, near Jabalpur, Capital of the Kalachuri Dynasty, 13.

Ujain, 15.
Umarkhadi, the creek that once separated Bombay from the other islets of the Bombay group, 46.
Underi, 24.
Uqua, 32.
Usha, 32.

Vallabha, 13.
Vardhi, 49.
Varli and Bombay joined by an embankment, 56.
Varli, on the derivation of the name of, 58.
Varli, the Shrine of Shambhu Mahadeva at, 58.
Varqueiro, D. Fr. Fernando, 124.
Vasco da Gama, 30, 233.
Vasconcellos, Luiz Mendes de, 257.
Vasudeva, 49.
Vaux, John, 324.
Vauz, Miguel, 222.
Venkatesha temple in the Fort, account of, 60, 61.
Verador, on the derivation and the meaning of the word, 229, 230.
Versova, invasion of the harbour and the fort of, by the Arabs in 1700, 197, 198.
Vigraha Pala, 27.
Vikramaditya, 14.
Virar village, 313.
Vishnu, 11.
Vishvanath Shenvi Telang, 225.
Vithalvadi Temple near Kalbadevi, 64.

Waite, Sir Nicholas, President in Surat in 1700, of the rival English Company, 324, 325, 330, 331.
Wálkeshvar Temple at Malabar Point, legend relating to, 33, 34, 43.
Wilson, Dr. John, 362.
Ward, Charles, 324.
Waters, Mr. Thomas, 365.
Weldon, Geo., 324.
Wesleyan Chapel at the Colaba Causeway, 363.
Wyborne or Wyburn, Sir John, 288, 307, 324.
Wynne, A. B., 25.

Xamaçudim (Shamsuddin), 237.
Xavier, St. Francis, 143, 145, 146, 233.

Yayáti, fifth King of the Lunar race, 41.
Young, Captain Henry, 324.
Yúsuf Ali Shah, 12.

Zinzan, Charles, 288, 307, 324.
Zubar Khan, 68.

00015188

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY

Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 25 January, 2020